¶ The fyft parte of Commentaries,

Concerning the state of Religion, and the Common vvealthe of Fraunce, vnder the reignes of Henry the second, Francis the second, and Charles the ninth.

Translated out of Latine into Englishe,

By THOMAS TIMME Minister.

Seene, and allovved.

DEVTERON. 32.

Remember the dayes of olde, consider the yeares of so many generations, aske thy father and he will shewe thee, thy elders and they will tell thee.

¶ *Imprinted at London,* by Henrie Bynneman, *for Francis Coldocke.*

ANNO. 1573.

RICHARD BAKER

Regarde not vvorldly vvealth,
In Christe repose thy trust,
Consider vvell thy finall ende,
Howve that thou art but dust.
Aske mercie for thy sinne,
Reioyce in vertues lore,
Detracte no tyme for to atchieue
Beatitudes in store,
Aboue vvhere Christ doth reigne
King of imperiall povver,
Eche Angell his triumphant praise
Resounding euery houre.

T.T.

¶ To the right worshipfull, Sir Richard Baker, knight, one of the Quenes Maiesties Iustices of peace in the countie of Kent.

Thomas Tymme wisheth desired health and *prosperitie, with ful perfection of Christiã vnderstanding and godlynesse.*

IN all ages and tymes, there haue bene some godlie and vvell disposed Fathers that imployed their time and trauaile in describing the state of Christes Church and of the common vvealth of the Lordes Israel. As for exaple, In the time of the Lavv before Christ, Moses, Samuel, Esras, Nehemiah, & others; After the lavv, since Christ, S. Luke, Theodoret, Socomenus, Epiphanius, Nicephorus, Iohn Sleidan, & in our age Master Iohn Foxe our Countreyman, (vvhose godly labour hath deserued greate commendation.) All these fathers and godlie learned men, in their times, by occasion haue labored and trauailed to beleeu the Church of Christ, vvhich through ignorance hath ben much endamaged. Euen to that notable, graue, godly learned Father, Petrus Ramus, the Author of these Commentaries of the state of the Common vvealth and Religion of France (vvhereof this booke is but the first part) hath taken no lesse pains to the same ende: and shal profit in dede no lesse than the trauaile [illegible] others, taken that vvay. For in his Commentaries (beside the godly lessons bothe concerning doctrine and manners, and othervvise)

are contained many notable examples of Gods great mercies, in defending & preserving the Christia professors of his name in France in extreme perils, & also diuers experiments of his seuere iudgements in ouerthrowing the cruel tyrants, and in punishing the persecuters. In consideration whereof, I thought it good to translate the same into oure English toung, both for that I thoughte it should generally profite oure countreymen, (and not those alone which vnderstande the Latine toung, as your worship doth:) and also for that I thought it a meete occasion, whereby I might testifie my good will and meaning towardes your worship, for the freendly inclination and willingnesse to benefit me, that I haue heretofore founde in you. Desiring you to accept the dedication hereof, though not for the worthinesse of the thing giuen, yet as a sure testimonie of suche a well willing mynd, as by this which he here presenteth, declareth what he would do, if he had any thing of more price to giue: & also to suffer my trauaile to passe forth vnder your honourable protection and garde, to the comen profit of our countreymen, and the glorie of God,

who lende you long life, increase of worship, and the perfect felicitie of the lyfe to come.

Yours euerlasting

The Authours Preface to the Reader.

WHAT a greate busynesse and much adoe there was of late yeares for Religion, and that in the kyngdome of Fraunce, there is no man but he knoweth; yea all men see the same to be suche that it oughte with diligence to be chronicled for euer: and to be sent to the bordecers of the vtmost part of the earth for all posterities. But he which hath taken this labour in hand of good wil, desireth earnestly that it may generally take effect and turne to the profit of all men. For (so farre as I know) there is nothing extant to be read, but certaine writinges whiche were put forth and sette abroade, as the matter required, and certaine Commentaries in the Frenche tong: and if there be any thyng, it is so obscurely written that the same of all men can not be vnderstoode.

And truely there are certayne reasons whiche stayed many men of great wisedome and experience in these matters from that publike writing. For who, not knowyng as yet what woulde come to passe, dare take vpon him to set forthe openly a whole Tragedie or Comedie, without manifest danger to lose his laboure, or at least to seeme to lose it? Furthermore, who seeth not, that it is a thyng at thys tyme full of perill, and procuring enuie and displeasure? And besyde all this, suche laboure at this tyme seemeth almoste vnprofitable. For those matters are as yet freshe in memorie, and more sensibly felte of a greate many, than were to bee wished, and are neysed abroade by others in forreine Nations. To conclude, this thyng seemeth almost hurtefull.

For when as those controuersies haue ben stirred by thorough diuers opinions of religion, which controuersies burst

forth into so great perturbations and troubles, the rehersall nowe of these things, shall not only séeme pernicious, but also untymely and out of order. The whyche also séeme to bée other causes whiche haue discouraged learned men (who no doubte did diligentely note and marke the reasons and falling out of those matters, whiche wonderfully hapned in these our days) from labouring to set forth this historie. For eyther the haste is unprofitable, or else the untymely comming forth ridiculous, of this so speedie & unseasonable labor.

Therfore least any man should thinke that it is our purpose, to write and sette forthe a iuste and true Historie of the state of the Churche of Fraunce: wée gyue to understande, that it is neyther oure purpose, nor yet agreeing to the tyme. Howbeeit, hereafter more copious and plentifull workes of better learned menne, so same as the troubles and lettes of these tymes bée taken awaye, will come abroade: and will also committe to those that shall come after, a perfeite and full memoriall and Chronicle of matters.

Let this nowe be our beginning and entrance, and a certaine declaration of a greater worke: that we may shewe some parte of that large and ample argument: and that we may reduce into these Commentaries a certayne bitoke of the feuerall tymes of oure Churches, bothe that we maye stirre up suche of greater learnyng and experience, as may happily hereafter take this matter in hande, more fully to handle the same: and also that in the meane tyme we may giue some taste of the greatest matters to Christian men, desyrous to know the truthe of this thing, and to men of forein nations, bewayling oure estate and condition.

And in these first first bookes of our Commentaries, we set forth onto the reader, the first beginnings of the Church of *Fraunce*, being as yet but of tender yeares as it were, and in the fire, or at least wyse, euen nowe by little and little comming out of the fire.

Let

Lette the causes of the hatred and debate, by these verye fewe things be considered, with the whyche the Bishop of Romes men so outrageously and vniustely are inflamed against the faithfull, and agaynste the cause of the faithfull. Wee muste not loke here to haue a description of the faithfull and professours of Christe in armes, (as oure aduersaries doe nowe obiecte vnto vs) but rather of the vnarmed and naked membres of Christe moste cruelly afflicted, only for this cause, bycause they preferre the true and pure doctrine of the Gospell now a growing, before the ancient customes and traditions of men. The naked Churche in tyme past was vexed, and the Gospell did runne as it wece through the sides of poore men, and brought them to death: then Christians were accounted as lyers, called heretikes, and by all maner of means vexed and oppressed: then were they cast in prisons and in bonds, then were they whipped, then suffered they proscriptions and banishements, yea and cruell deathes, without fauour.

But nowe when it pleased the omnipotent God to appoyne vnto his Churche a more cleere and beautiful estate, and to qualifie and quenche those fierce fyres, Sathan not forgetting his olde subtilties and sleightes, deuiseth a new accusation, whispering into the eares of kings, that the Gospell will plucke their scepters out of their handes: and bycause the faithfull throughout the whole kingdom of France defende their libertie graunted vnto them by the Kings Edictes, and by all lawful causes, with force of Armes, a new crime is nowe layde to their charge, namely Sedition, rebellion, and treason to the king and countrey: and these crimes are obiected against ẏ godly, by those which (abusing the Kings name and authoritie to exercise their owne tyrannie) sicke moste of all the destruction of the Kings maiestie: and bicause they haue ben lette of their purpose by the faithfull, therfore do they spewe out all the poyson of their hatred against them.

By these beginnings it shall euidently appeare how obedient

dient the Faithfull haue bene alwayes to their Princes and Magistrates: that thys thyng being layde as it were the foundation, it may plainly be seene who they be, which are the true authours of so manie troubles as haue flowed thorough this whole kingdome.

God truly hath armed and fortified his Churche at thys daye with many externall helpes and fortresses: yet for all that, the cause is not chaunged; Christe is the selfe same Christe still, the Gospell is not chaunged, but it is the selfe same Gospel, whiche was vnreuerently handled and dealt withall in the persons of the Faithfull, by the sharpe punishementes of the wicked. The Faithfull are the same men still in obeying their Magistrates, and in reuerencing their Princes that they were before. But they are rebells whiche abusing the name and authoritie of Princes, and disloyally violating all Lawe, persecute the Churche, go about to extinguish the Gospel, and as if they were Giants, furiously fyght with God.

And by the reading of these Commentaries, the Faithfull shall finde many thynges whiche they maye applie vnto themselues to staye and comfort themselues in the midest of these troubles.

In these lamentable tymes, manie daungers of most greeuous calamities do compasse vs on euery side, manie difficulties and new troubles do dayly burst forth also: But if we consider and weigh the times past, we shal in very deed haue a guesse now, what will come to passe hereafter in our tyme. For seeing God hath afore tyme sette and placed his Churche in a straunge and wonderfull order: We maye gather, that the same God being a perpetuall keeper and defender of his seruauntes, will applie his power and prouidence to dispatche vs out of these our troubles: the which is a most strong and inuincible argument.

Let vs call to remembrance the thick mistes and darke cloudes of the former night; let vs sette before oure eyes in what

what state the Churche was in the days of Francis the first, Henry the second, and Francis the seconde. All thinges were then full of feare. Infinite kindes of punishementes and paynes were layde vpon the Churche, as banishementes, proscriptions, and burnings: Then no man durste so much as name the Gospell, without he would be counted a manifest heretike: Fewe men or none, and that of the meaner sort, when they were in their secret corners, durst not once mutter of the Gospell: men coulde not then enioy the libertie of the Gospell, except they woulde wyllingly banishe themselues their countrey, and wander into forreigne Nations.

But who will not maruell hereuppon at the issue and ende of those afflictions? Loke what thynges were then heard of a fewe, did openly ring in the eares of all men: Loke what things were reiected in some places, and greatly punished, were publikely receiued of the greatest part of men: yea there were many of the nobles which sealed that doctrine with their bloud.

By the deathes of Kynges, the Gospell had passage, victorie was gotten, Triumphe was made, and within fewe dayes, the Gospel went thorough the greatest parte of the kingdome, by open sermons, by publyke Disputations, where moste menne were assembled together, so that the Gospell had gotten many and singular witnesses.

The places which had seene the tormenting fyres and ashes of the Faithfull before, sawe nowe greate assemblyes and multitudes of the Faythfull gathered together to heare the worde of God: and the Kings Edictes which were altogether made for the hurt and destruction of the faythfull, were at the last, for all that the aduersaries could doe, made to preserue the faithfull.

To be shorte, these Commentaries do bring to our remembraunce and consideration, suche wonderfull and straunge matters, (the lyke whereof we our selues haue not

lately seene) that by the prosperous and happie issue and ende of these perturbations, we ought to conceyue a sure and vndoubted hope. The matter was then tryed by fyre: but now by force of armes: he which quenched the flaming fires by the death and destruction of those whiche were fully purposed vtterly to ouerthrow and destroy the Churche, the same Lord of hostes and graund Captain of battailes shall direct and order these warres to the libertie and peace of hys seruants. Therfore the examples of these things which were done in time past, do plentifully shew, that what soeuer shall happen at the length (which in deede is not to be measured by humane reason) shall fall out for our healthe and welfare: and that because God will not leaue his worke vnperfected. Wherefore I truste it is euident by the consideration of the things which are set forth in this Booke, what great profite shal come to those whom the boysterous waues of these tempests haue touched. And because this is not a priuate matter, neyther appertaineth to euery one man, but common to the whole Church of God dispersed throughout ỹ whole world, we think also ỹ the manifest & true knowledge of these thinges is loked for of many mē of forein nations, & that the first beginnings of those things in these our Commentaries shal not be read of them without some frute. Neither do we dout but that many when they haue gotten peace and tranquilitie after troubles, will behold our miseries, not as though they themselues were quite out of danger of the like, but being moued with the feeling of our afflictions, will truly bewaile our estate. For whose sake also we haue written these things in Latin, that they by some means at the least, may be generally vnderstode of all those whiche seeke the glorie of God, and the preseruation of his Churche.

Wherfore we trust if we be accused of rashnes, as though we had vnaduisedly set forth these things which should haue ben deferred till more conuenient and better occasions, we haue to answere for our selues, and to make vs cleare from that faulte. For if in a matter commendable and deseruyng

prayse

prayse, simple and small diligence ought not to be blamed, this may be a iuste defence for vs against learned and indifferent men, namely, to will is sufficiēt in matters of weight. It shall be no reproche or shame to vs at al, that there be controllers of a learned & perfect storie. But this is the summe of our whole desire, that the very truth of those things which were done in Fraunce for religion, might be knowne to all men, as, what is the godnesse of the cause of the Faithfull and true Churches, and what is the iniquitie and iniustice of their aduersaries.

Let al men know for a suretie that the Churches of France are not guiltie of sedition and rebellion, but are so called by the enimies of the truth and pure doctrine, for defending the libertie of the Gospell. Let all men know, that many thousandes of faithfull Christians, being spoyled of their goodes, haue, like banished men, forsaken their houses and countrey: let them knowe that by warre, and by other meanes, they haue become true martyrs, and by the fraude and deceyte of the Antichristian Guises, are dayly martyred, who violating and breaking the moste strayte lawe and faith of promises, haue abused the kings name and authoritie to exercise their tirannie and wickednesse. To be shorte, let al men know that France is falne into these ciuil warres through the wickednesse of aliens, not through the fault of the faithful.

Moreouer (gentle Reader, whiche desirest to be satisfyed in the truth) we testifie and affirme thus muche for our selues, that we haue written all things truly, simply, and vprightly, without any maner of parcialitie: not gathering any thing by rumours or reportes, but by certaine and vndoubted arguments: insomuch that we are not afrayde to appeale to those that are yet alyue, as to eye witnesses, yea and to the very time it selfe.

Farewell.

Edwarde Grant Schoolemaster of VVestminster to the Booke.

WHo lists to lern the blustering broyles, & frãtike fumes of France,
The troublous times in three kings raigns, that dolefully did chãce,
May here suruey a perfect platte, of pageantes playde in vewe,
That will enforce eche Christian harte, most ruthfully to rue:
To see and heare the true discourse, of superstitious dayes,
That shaded pure Religion with dimme and darkesome wayes,
VVhere errour blynde and ignorance, did holde the vpper hande,
And armed all hir lungishe loutes, the truth for to withstande.
To rage and fume against the Churche, that lurking lay supprest,
With spitefull hate, and infamies, of those that did it wrest.
Christes faythfull spouse not suffred, through errour for to shyne,
That rankored laye in Princes heades, that gainst it did repyne.
Gods chosen sheepe and chosen vassals true, raisde vp to doo his will,
In puritie him for to serue, vayne errour sought to spill.
Their throates to cut, their heades to poll, theyr corps in fire to cast,
That of Gods pure religion, began to haue the taste.
Some choakte with gibbets gabbed at, some murdred madfully,
Some stabbed in with goring blades and swoordes most wilfully.
And all for hating Romishe rytes, and Belials bragging broode,
For cleauing to the Christian Churche, that sore suppressed stoode.
Amongst the superstitious troupes of Antichristian rites,
(Starke blinded with Leuiathan the Popes good grace delightes.)
Starte vp some chosen chieftaines of Christes broken bande,
That dyd defye suche beggeries, in Fraunce that famous lande.
And dayly did alluer more, vnto theyr sacred sawes,
To serue the Lorde in hymnes and songs, according to his lawes.
Vntill the rage of hellish hagges, the common blynded crewe,
Dyd spye and spyte their godlynesse, and many of them slewe,
Accused them as Lutheranes before the peeres and kings,
(Of Luther that dyd broche the same) with fonde inuented things.

Hereof

Hereof came ſectes and taking partes, the people cenſt with rage,
By kings mainteynde, did ſpoyle the iuſt, the godly, and the ſage.
Edictes were made to ſtay ſuch broyles, and parliaments were holde,
To let the Faythfull be at reſte, but yet th'enimie ſwelde:
And dayly raged more and more, tyll Faythfull did encreaſe,
And this reformde Religion ſome noble myndes did pleaſe.
For whoſe defence roſe ciuill warres, and many a bloudie day,
Full many a chylde lefte fatherleſſe, and mootherleſſe they ſay,
And many parents ſpoyled of their dere and louing ſons, (with gões,
Goard with the ſworde, thruſt through with blades, and battred downe
The nobles ſlayne, & valiant knightes caſt downe before their time,
And all in fence of Chriſtes cauſe, acuſed thus of crime.
Oh France, thou famous realme before, and eke moſte populous place,
Thou arte diſpeopled, waſted, torne, thy owne doe thee deface.
Thy cities crackte, thy townes bereſte, thy men and nobles racke,
Thy people pollde, thy ſubiectes ſlayne, thy wealth and ſtrength is ſackt:
Ah pitie pitie for to heare, howe altered is thy ſtate,
Through follie fonde and blyndneſſe blacke, that hampered was in hate,
The Lorde hath iuſtly plagued thee, for ſo deſpiting his,
He will mainteyne his ſeruauntes cauſe, thou mayſt be ſure of this.
If euer lande might loathe hir lucke, and lamed louring ſtate,
Thou haſte good cauſe for to deplore, and wayle thy cruell fate.
One of thy owne, a pearle of thyne, by learned treatiſe lo,
And pured phraſe thy mangled ſtate, lets all the worlde to know.
Thy Ramus *lo, thy* Phœnix (*Fraunce*) *thy worthie learned Clarke*
In Commentes three at large diſplays thy broyles that he did marke:
And lyke a good and natrall childe, (leſt things ſhould be forgot)
Hath painfully here pend thy bruntes, and miſſed not a iot.
Thy Ramus *penne hath budded out the bloſſomes of his brayne,*
It is thy Ramus *verily, that thus thy ſtate doth paynt,*
The ſtile and phraſe doth ſhew the ſame: whom death to ſone did ſtraint
And like ynough through cruell ſpyte, for theſe his learned paynes,
Among the Popiſhe crewe of late, daſht out was Ramus *braynes.*
Whoſe death eche ſcholer may bewayle: for learning had a fall
When Ramus *fell, replete with skill, thy chiefeſt Clearke of all.*

Edward Grant to the booke.

VVhat chiefe in Fraunce ſome will obiecte? there lieeth better ſtill:
If I haue miſt, I pardon craue, I ſpeake it for good will
That I did learned Ramus *lende, for that his cunning skill*
In learnings lore: and partly for theſe treatiſe that diſtill
From Ramus *brayne, who for bycauſe he writ in Latin phraſe,*
VVhicke only learned vnderſtande, Tym *trynly giues aſſayes*
To make the whole knowne vnto all, the firſte parte lo is heere,
The other two as large as this, ſhall ſhortly ſo appere.
VVorthie the ſight, worthie the vieVe, a mirrour to beholde,
Of miſeries, of tyrannies, of Papiſtes proude and bolde.
Therefore (good Reader) here imbrace the founder of this frame,
And honour for his paynfull penne, dead Ramus *famous name.*
Giue Tym *that* Tym *doth Well deſerue for engliſhing this for thee,*
VVhoſe payne muſt needes be very greate, when he hath finiſht three.
Two more beſide this preſent booke, in volume lyke to this,
VVhiche verie ſhortly thou ſhalt haue, this but the former is.
And wayle the wracke of fruſhed Fraunce, and giue God harty thũks.
That hath preſerv'd thy ryall Reãme, from ſuch proud popiſh pranks.

In historiam de Gallicæ Eccleſiæ

ſtatu recens editam, Rob. Rolli carmen.

VExata eſt olim priſcis Eccleſia ſeclis,
Carceribus, flagris, ignibus, enſe, cruce,
Haud minor eſt hodie cedes: tu Gallia teſtis,
Sis dudum paribus ſanguinolenta modis.
Qui fidei nuper multis fulſere magiſtri
(Prôh pudor) indignam ſuſtinuere necem.
Quóq; magis poſſent inceptum abſoluere factum
Nullum papicolæ præteriere ſcelus.
Penè datur ſceleri lex hoc qui credere poſſet,
Vix eſt (tale nephas) vnus & alter erit.
Pauca legis paruo hoc (ſed verè) ſcripta libello:
Omnia nam tangi tempora noſtra vetant.
Iſta quod aſpicimus librisq; notata videmus,
Laus eſt (Rame) tibi laus quoque (Tymme) tibi.

The ſumme of thoſe things which are contained in theſe three firſt bookes of Commentaries.

IN theſe thꝛée firſt bookes of Commentaries, we compꝛehende the ſpace of foure yeares, namely from the yeare. 1557. vnto the yeare 1562. which was in the firſt motions of the ciuill warres: beginning at that time which ſæmeth to be moſt fitte foꝛ this purpoſe: the matter ſo aptly offering it ſelfe, that we may very nére begin at the ſame time in the which Iohn Sleidan, that learned man, left and ended his Commentaries concerning the ſtate of the Cõmon welth and Religion. Firſt of all we ſet foꝛth that great deſtruction and loſſe of men which is commonly called by the vulgar people, Iacobs ſlaughter, which ſæmed wholy to deface, not onely the Church of *Paris*, but alſo the Churches of Fraunce being now as it were, but in the ſwadling clothes: then we ſhew what cruell afflictions came at that time vpon the faithfull, what the aduerſaries did then, and what our men alſo did. We declare alſo that while newe deuiſes and pꝛactiſes are ſought foꝛ to aboliſhe the Goſpell quite, nowe beginning to growe in Fraunce, the whole kingdome being moued and troubled with newe thꝛeatenings of Edictes and puniſhmentes, and the kings of Fraunce and Spaine being nowe in councell concerning this matter, in the very league, euen in the middeſt of their conſultation, when a ſcourge was a pꝛeparing foꝛ the Church by the ſolemnitie of mariage, euẽ at that time came the ſodeine death of Henrie the king, of all men vnlooked foꝛ. Then, howe the Guiſes had the gouernement of the Realme, during the time of the nonage of king Fraunces the ſecond: how Annas Burgæus a noble Senatour of the Parliament of *Paris*, at that time, was cruelly burned, and

Iohn Sleidan.

Iacobs ſlaughter at Paris.

Newe deuiſes to aboliſhe the Goſpell.

The tumult of Ambaxian.

what other perſecutions there were alſo: among which perſecutions, how the tumult of Ambaxian chaunced, the cauſes and effectes whereof ſhall be declared. After this, the ſolemne aſſemblies had at the kings houſe at *Fontiſbelaquanm*, to mitigate the tumultes, who agreed to call a Parliament, and a Nationall Councell or Conuocation, to ſtay the controuerſies of Religion, of the which alſo we

The kings Edict of pardō.

will intreate in order. Alſo howe the king ſet forth an Edict, promiſing them to forget and forgiue all former offences committed for Religions ſake. Then, how the Guiſes went about to ſubuert and extinguiſh the Goſpell, coacting an aſſemblie to be made at *Aurelias* for the ſame purpoſe: howe the deathes of the king of *Nauarre* and the Prince of *Conde* were conſpired, the tumult and trouble of Ambaxian being maliciouſly and falſlye layde to their charge.

But while the Prince of *Conde* was ſtraitly impriſoned, and his death preparing, we will ſhew, howe the ſodeine death of king Fraunces the ſeconde happened, to the great amaſing and grieuance of the Guiſes.

Sodeine alteration by the death of king Fraunces.

Furthermore, we will declare what great alterations came to paſſe after this, the yong king Charles comming to the Crowne: As the great peace and tranquilitie giuen and graunted to the Churches by the benefite of the Kings Edictes, the daily increaſe of the faithfull, the flouriſhing of the Goſpell in euery place, the defacing of the Popes doctrine by ſolemne Court of Parliament, the truth alſo embraced of many of the Nobles. And here we will ſhewe what ſeedes of diſſention were ſowne by the ſubtile practiſes of the Guiſes betweene the Nobles: Then I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the Acts of the parling of Poſſi-

The Kings Edict cōmonly called the Edict of Ianuarye.

acen.

Laſt of all, I will declare the ſumme of the Edict of Januarye, by which greater libertie was graunted to the Churches;

Churches: And bicause about that time there were great troubles of warres, I will there make an ende of thys booke, leauing the declaration of the rest vntill a more conuenient time: Notwithstanding part thereof, (that is to say, the explication of the first Ciuil warres) shall be declared in our three latter bookes, we loking to haue occasions offered to describe other matters which are behinde.

THe doctrine of Religion, which in our time is amended and reformed, came at the last into Fraunce. But they were hardly delt withall which receyued that doctrine, they were banished, burnt, and with all maner of tormients vexed, they were also called Lutheranes, which name then was made a common reproch to the godly. Notwithstanding all this, that doctrine did more largely and vehemently spreade it selfe abroade: and the more that men were tormented, the more they came to the same by flocks. Many, to the end they might escape the cruelties of their punishments, & might enioy the free vse of religiō, went vnto those places in the which ỹ same was purely & publikely set forth: among which the greatest part went to *Geneua*, From whence many bookes and letters being written, a great number were brought to the knowledge of that doctrine. The which dailie increasing more and more, great matters afterwardes came to passe: those things which were done in the beginning with feare and secretely, were afterwarde free, and common for euery man to vse, vntill such time, as punishments being repressed, tormēts taken away, and the fierie flames quite extinguished, that doctrine was receyued of noble men, of Gentlemen, and of all estates: but on the other side, the aduersaries of the reformed religion resisting ỹ same, there arose great tumults, which by mortall and ciuill warres vexed and much endamaged the great and noble kingdome of Fraunce. But these first beginnings are particularly touched in other bookes, in the which

The name of Lutheranes.

Geneua a sanctuarie for the godly.

which the noble and excellent triumphes of Martyrs are described.

I will therfore begin at that yeare since the which, matters of Religion being more openly set forth, and more vehemently againe resisted, have more happily and evidently appeared. And then, this was the state of the kinghome.

After sundrie and long warres betweene Henrie the seconde king of Fraunce, and Charles the fyfth Emperour, at the length both their Legates, whē they could not by peace ende the controuersies, which were betweene them, concluded a truce or peace for fyue yeares, the which being shortly after broken by the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, the warre began a freshe betweene the two kings. And Fraunces Duke of *Guise* taketh his iourney into *Italie* with a great armye. And Philip king of *Spaine*, and sonne of the Emperour Charles goeth into *Picardie*: who making hast to the towne of *Sanquintine*, gaue the Constable (which came out to mete him) a great ouerthrow, and toke him with a great number of Gentlemen.

This ouerthrowe and great slaughter of men was called Laurence day, bicause it chaunced at the feast of S. Laurence. After this, *Sanquintine* was taken, and certaine cities nere vnto the same. So that what with the rumor of the sodeine slaughter, & what with the feare of the enimie which now approched to *Paris* the chiefe citie of the kingdome, all men were wonderfully afrayde.

While these things were thus a working, there began to be a great fame and rumor of the increase of the Lutheranes, by reason whereof there followed a notable persecution against them, which by the popular and vulgar name is called, The winning of S. Iames streete: and it was so called for this cause: When the faithfull perceyued the great perill and daūger that hong ouer the whole kingdome of France, by reason of this newe plague and punishment, they gaue themselues to prayer, and therfore congregated themselues

Great persecution in the Church of Paris.

Anno domini 1557. togither by a great number, the fourth daye of September, in certaine houses of S. Iames streete in *Paris*, and that in the night (for in the daye time they might by no meanes come togither) minding to heare the worde preached, and to haue the supper of the Lorde celebrated. But they being bewrayed, the common sort of people with weapons in a great tumult ranne with all haste to this streete of S. Iames, where the faithfull were assembled, who being in those houses before mentioned, and seing themselues to be compassed on euerye side with the furor and rage of the multitude, had small hope to escape: howbeit, part of them when they sawe a waye to be made for them through a certaine gate (which wonderfully opened for the safegarde of many, when the houses on euery side were beset) repeated their former prayers, and escaped by flight without harme, euen as though God himselfe had gone before them: the greater part were taken of the Magistrates, among whom were many noble women, and women of great parentage, and as they were led away by the officers, were shamefully intreated and vnhonestly handled of the people.

Now, the matter being in question concerning this assebly, it was first founde, that when the people were assembled togither, there was a Lecture of the holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue: secondly, that all the congregation kneeling, prayers were made by the Minister: thirdly, that the Minister expounded the place of the eleuenth Chapter of S. Paules first Epistle to the Corinthians, in the which, ẏ vse of the Lords supper is declared: fourthly, that then prayers were made for the King, for Princes & Magistrates, for all estates of people, & for peace and quietnesse of the kingdom: and last of all, that the breade and wine of the Lords supper was communicated and giuen to those which were not iudged vnworthie. For these offences they were taken. Being therefore taken, and cruelly intreated of the people by the way, were notwithstanding very vncourteously delt with-

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all in prison. For theeues and murtherers, and such as by the lawe deserued to die, were taken out of their colde and noysome prisons, and these men put into the same in their steade, all men forbidden to haue any recourse vnto them. Notwithstanding, it was brought to passe by the singular prouidence of God, bicause euery man could not haue a prisō by himself, that some of them were thrust togither into one prisō, & so it came to passe that one of thē receiued comfort of another, in somuch that the prison in the which they were, soūded with the prayers & Psalmes vttered & song by them.

But to make these men the more to be hated, diuers rumors were euery where spred, namely that ỹ Lutherans did assemble themselues togither in the night, and being on a heape togither without candle light, did fulfill their wandring lusts one with another, killed their yong infants, and committed other wickednesses. The Monkes, they made exclamation of this thing in euery place, to inflame the people to reuenge the same. And not only the common sort of people were stayed with these rumors, but the same also of these things came euē to the eares of the Pæres of ỹ realm, in so much that one of the Inquisitors, or Commissioners, durst auouch before the king, that Tables spred, and great prouision of daintie cheare was founde in that place, where the faythfull had assembled themselues. The which report, so inflamed the kings minde, that he sought nothing more than the destruction of the faithfull: yea, and the mindes of all men did so boyle in hatred against them, that he thought himselfe to excell that coulde best conspire the death and destruction of the faithfull.

Wicked slaunders deuised against the faithfull.

At the last a cōmaundement was giuen by the king, that some meete man should be chosen to knowe & consider their causes which were taken. Nowe at *Paris* there was a Magistrate, a Citizen called Munerius, a man (as it was commonlye reported) verye apt for all maner of fraude and deceyte. At thys time this Munerius was as a Batte

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in the night, and did seldome openly shewe himselfe, because he was accused of falshood in the matter of the Countesse of *Senigana*, or *Senigum*, the which hee pretended to haue committed, that Duke Arscotus who was then take and in hold, might escape. Notwithstanding, to this man this office was committed. And because by this meanes he hoped to haue pardon, and shoulde be restored to his former dignitie, he was so forward in his businesse, that within fewe dayes, many of their causes which were taken prisoners, were brought to haue sentence and iudgement. In the meane time, those reliques which remayned behinde of that waste and great shipwracke of the faithfull, were cast into great distresse and sorrowe, notwithstanding, they thought it not good to faynt or quayle in those extremities. For they which were the chiefe gouernours of the Church, went about euery mans house, exhorted euery one to be of good cheere, & perswaded that nothing had happened without the singuler prouidence of God, by which also it came to passe, that many escaped that daunger: moreouer, they sayd that they remained to defende the other partes of the Church which were left: and that this calamitie shoulde not be the ruine and quite ouerthrow of the Church: and on the other side, that the same is the waye to increase and inlarge the Church, which God both by his word hath shewed, and also by experience approued, for the gathering together of the Church. And thus when they had exhorted and comforted one another, and had committed themselues and all things else to the prouidence of God, first of al they appointed that in euery house there should be extraordinary praiers made, and that those false rumors shoulde be put away by Apologies and aunsweres of defence, and also that the brethren which were taken, should be confirmed and strengthned, so often as might be, with letters, and also with wordes.

Duke Arscotus Brabantine.

Therefore they write letters vnto the king, and bring to passe, to haue them caried secretly into the kings chamber,

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by which they ment to pacifie the kings minde, to remoue the same from the euill opinion which it had conceyued of them, and to obtaine the hearing of their cause. They affirme in their letters that they are falsly accused and slaundered with such slaunders as are not newly deuised, but with such as long before had bene obiected agaynst the Church, by which Satan went about to make Kinges and Princes to hate the same: and are now againe put forth by those only which desire to haue the truth oppressed, to the ende they may freely enioy the riches and goods which they haue vsurped and wrongfully gotten by wicked deceit. And that he ought to seeke to haue sure and vndoubted proues of euery matter, specially in businesse of so great weight. For if it were sufficient to condemnation to accuse, who shoulde then escape an innocent? Wherefore, if he would vouchsafe diligently to search out the truth of this matter, it shoulde well appeare that they assembled themselues togither for no other ende and purpose, than to praye vnto God for his prosperitie and the peace of the kingdome. Also that their doctrine did not maintaine sedition, neyther was an enimye to the obedience of Magistrates: the which thing they had alway hitherto shewed, neuer refusing to obey, although they were many in number, when they were euill intreated, onely for following the worde of God. And that thys was their onely desire, that Christ might appeare to be the chiefe and heade alone: and that the inuentions of men being abrogated, God might be obeyed and serued according to his prescript will. Wherefore, if it woulde please him to vnderstande their cause, he might, if he woulde, make some publike disputation betweene some one of those that were in prison, and the Sorbonistes or others which might dispute of those things now in controuersie. In the ende, they doe pray and humbly beseech him that he woulde not suffer the innocencie of good men, their cause not being heard, to be condemned, seeing that wicked men, and such as do most

An apologie for the faithfull captiues.

« dæpely transgresse, obtain so much libertie, as to shew their « cause, and aunswere for themselues. These letters were read before the king, and those also which were then present, but small fruite or profite came thereby, certaine of the Cardinals then crying that they were lyes and tales: so that notwithstanding their reasonable suite and request, they had not so much graunted vnto them as libertie to aunswere for themselues.

After this, there was yet another letter sent to the king, the effect wherof was, ỳ all men did confesse that these calamities with ỳ which the christian cõmon welth was vexed, proceeded of the iust iudgement of God, being offended that so many heresies and corruptions shoulde take place: But the greatest offence to consist in this thing, namely, that none of those, to whome the care and charge of the Common welth was committed, had any regarde at all, to discerne heretiques, by the worde of God, from Christian maintayners of the truth. And yet notwithstanding, that it did belong vnto the king to applie himselfe to know this thing, according to the example of the good kings Ezechias and Iosias. And after certaine notes put downe of true and false religion, it began in maner as followeth.

« Weye and consider with your selfe your estate, and you « shall finde that all things haue happened ouerthwartly vn« to you, euer since you haue gone about to vexe the Luthe« ranes. When you set forth the Edict made at *Castellobrian*, « then began warres. But when you inhibited and forbad « the executiõ of that Edict, and were an enimie to the Pope, « in sending a power into Germanie for the libertie thereof, « bicause of the afflicted religion, your bulnes had very pros« perous successe. But what hath hapned vnto you euer since « you entred into friendship with the Pope, taking the sword « of him, by which, truce being broken, warres might begin a « fresh? God vndoubtedly shall turne thy felicities into those « calamities which are now ready to fall vpon thee and thy

dignitie.

dignitie. To what end went the armie of the Duke of *Guise* into *Italy*, when he had serued Gods enimie for hire? went he not to this ende, that when he returned home againe, he might vtterly destroy the Churches of the valleys of *Pedemonte*, and might so offer and dedicate his victories vnto God? Surely, the ende and successe sheweth, that God doth bring the deuises and counsels of men to naught, when they turne to their own destruction: as appeareth by the slaughter which happened on S. Laurence daye of late, at what time he derided and frustrated the proude threatninges of the Constable, which boasted that if he returned home againe a victor or conquerour, he woulde rote out and vtterly destroy *Geneua*.

The arrogant threatnings of the Constable.

Thus after the repeating of many examples, in the which the iudgements of God did appeare against ỹ aduersaries of his truth (whose memory also was yet fresh in ỹ heads of al men) this letter at ỹ length cõcludeth: that afflictiõs cannot abolish & destroy ỹ Church of God, seeing that (as Tertullian sayth) The bloud of Martyrs is the seede of the Church: and that it is the office of a King to take vpon him the care of religion, ỹ which all men might see by diuers ways to be contaminated and neglected, & that this might lawfully be done by calling a Councell. In the meane time, that their cause as yet being vnknowne, & not certaine, they may be peaceably, & not cruelly intreated, which protest that they follow Gods truth: and that so holy a name cannot in such wise be cõtemned, but some inquisition must be made: also ỹ iudgement ought to be had, not from the deuises of men, but from the worde of God, the only and most certaine rule of truth. Therfore (say they) if we be not conuinced by Gods word, it is neither fire, nor sworde, nor any maner of punishment that can terrifie vs. These shall be the triumph and victorie of our faith, that by being ouercome, we shall be ouercommers at the last: by this Chariote, we shall come at the length to the hauen of euerlasting lyfe.

But that Edict which was made at *Castellobrian* (of the which we haue made mention before) was very straite and cruell against Religion, in the which, among many things "these were the speciall sentences: First, that all former E- "dictes concerning the putting of heretiques to death, should "be confirmed: That no man shoulde be admitted to anye "publike office, before he had made his cõfession agreeable to "the Catholike and Romishe faith: That in euery Parlia- "ment, and in the thirde moneth also, there shoulde be assem- "blies made, which are commonly called Mercuriales: and "that first of all, matters concerning Religion shoulde be "handled, and that there shoulde be speciall regarde and eye "had to the assembly of the Parliament, least some corrupti- "on or heresie might secretly crepe in.

There was also another Apologie set forth for all men to vse, so written, that the auncient forme and state of the Church being represented, and compared to that which is at this day, the auncient fathers themselues also by their owne woordes and writings, might defend and maintaine the ve- "rye selfe same cause which they nowe defended: and in such wise, that they which sayde, that they reuerenced and embraced antiquitie, might beare antiquitie defending and supporting the cause of the reformed Church (so called.)

"These things truly, are plentifully set forth in this writ- "ting, but the summe is this: That it was against right, that "the faithfull shoulde be accused for well doing: but more in- "iurious, that they should be condemned, their cause not be- "ing heard. Notwithstanding, that the Church of Christ be- "fore this time long since, had felt the same iniuries: & ther- "fore no maruaile, if they, whose cause was like, were made "equall to them in trouble: Howbeit, that Sathan and his "Ministers shoulde so little preuaile, that for all their force, "the Church shoulde arriue through the midst of their temp- "tations to the safe and quiet haven: and the thicke and dark "Clowdes being blowen ouer, the light of innocencie should

appeare,

appeare, and the enimies of the same be founde lyers. After this, those slaunders and reproches which were obiected against them, being particularly examined and considered by them, were also fully aunswered altogither out of the writings of the Fathers, that their Apologie or defence myght plainly appeare to be true and sounde. Further more, many letters were written to the brethren which were in prison, yea, and Churches of farre Countries, bewayling their estate, did comfort them with their letters: so that hereby they were wondefully confirmed. And among other Churches or congregations, the congregation of *Geneua* shewed the dutie of the faithfull brethren, insomuch that they did not let, by all meanes possible, to doe them good.

While those things were prouided for of the faithful, the aduersaries on the contrarie part sought by all meanes possible to worke the death of the faithfull which were in prison, so sone as they coulde: and in this matter Munerius the ciuill Magistrate was not a little diligent, and the people for their part greedily gaped, and continually loked for the same. Now, there came forth a commaundement from the king, that all other matters set apart, for a time the senate shoulde wholy applye themselues to vnderstande the cause of the faithfull, and to iudge of them according to the euidence that shoulde be brought against them by Munerius the ciuill *Prætor*. Notwithstanding, the Kings commaundement herein, the whole Senate or assembly of the Court refusing and reiecting this Munerius, both for that he withstoode the auncient custome of the Court, and also because (as is before sayde) he was accused of falshode, concluded that by the relation and report of anye one man which shoulde come forth and giue euidence, the iudgement and sentence of those Iudges that were put in trust, shoulde be ordered. The whole Senate therefore, although they were not a little troubled with the great number of prisoners, yet notwithstanding, what by the expresse commaunde-

mentes of the King to them, and what with the olde and rankred spyte they bare to Religion, so greatly prevayled within fewe dayes, that their causes in deede came to iudgement. Of the which, they which constantly helde the confession of the true doctrine, were condemned by great consent of the people to dye, and were burnt with fire: and suffering most excellent Martyrdome by death, they wonderfullye triumphed of the crueltie of their enimies. The which thinges, bicause they be specially touched in another Booke, it shall not be nedefull here to speake any more of them.

Many delivered theselues from death by diuers meanes and wayes that were not lawfull. But they to whome this charge and trust was commited, boldly doing their office, and being nothing slow to exercise crueltie, certaine of their friendes which were in holde, propounded causes of refusall against the Iudges, desiring that there might be other Iudges set in their places. This thing for a time stayed the rage of the persecution. Notwithstanding, the king being certified hereof, sendeth letters, by which he declaring those refusals to be nothing, commaundeth that all other things set apart, they give their diligence only to intende vpon this thing: and that the Nobles which were in authoritie, should chose out, according as they thought good, Counsellours to supplie the places of those that were absent: and that in the *Prætor* Munerius roume (bicause for the causes before alleaged he was removed) other should serue: & to be short, that final iudgement might be given of those matters: howbeit, that he might haue warning before any matter were ended. These letters did againe displease and anger the mindes of those iudges, which toke it heynously y they were refused. So that choller was then set on fire against many: & for this cause semed as though it would rage and burne in the new
Anno domini. 1558. yeare following. For the aduersaries went about of late to establish & bring in the like inquisition that was in Spain,

(which

(which they thought was ỹ only way vtterly to ouerthrow the gospel) & letters at the last being obtained frō the Pope, by which three Cardinals were appointed chief inquisitors, they wēt about all that they could to set forward this deuise. The king for his part consented. Notwithstanding, ỹ senate of *Paris*, hauing better consideration of the matter, greatlye withstode this new practise, & alleaged these causes to ỹ king of their withstanding and prohibition, saying: If this thing should be brought to passe, loke how much the power of the ecclesiasticall Iudges and Inquisitors should be enlarged, so much should ỹ supreme authoritie of the king be diminished: Secondly, that it was a matter of great weight, for the naturall subiects of the king, to be made destitute, and after a sort, depriued of their king, and to be brought to the power of forreine Iudges, and to be made subiect to an Officiall or Inquisitor: Thirdlye, that it shoulde be a defrauding of the kingdome, but specially of the subiectes, to be spoyled of the helpe & safegarde of the king, and to be themselues, and all their goodes, iudged & disposed, after the supreme iudgement of an ecclesiasticall Iudge: Fourthly, that it would come to passe, that when they had gotten infinite power, and the greatest part of ỹ kings authoritie, that is to say, when they had gotten power to iudge of life & death as thē listed, without further appeale to any higher Court, they might easily abuse their offices. For (say they) the libertie to appeale, is the onely sanctuarie and defence of innocencie: Fiftly and last of all, they say that the king to whō the appeale should be made, is the reuenger, and the defender of violated and wronged innocencie, and that, iniurie shoulde be done, if this thing went forward, not only to the people, but also to Princes, to Dukes, to Nobles, yea, and to the kings nere kinsemen, who also shoulde be bounde with this bonde.

By this prohibition and resistāce, the matter was delayed for a time: at the length, when the Kings Court was at *Paris*, the verye same aduersaries of the truth brought to

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passe that those letters were confirmed of the King, as he went to the Senate or Parliament, for this cause.

Thus when they had gotten the lawe into their owne handes, and had written new Edictes, appointing mortall punishments for the faithfull, (whome they called Sacramentaries, Sectaries, and such lyke) euery man looking now for grieuous persecutions, it pleased God for a time to disappoint those cruell practises and threatenings, by troubling the kingdome with warre and other businesse.

Certayne examples of Gods vengeance shewed vppon diuers persecutors of the Church.

Neither is it to be buried in silence, by what meanes God shewed his vengeaunce vpon many of those persecutors which were the chiefe Capitaynes in S. Iames slaughter. That Munerius the *Prator* which was the first that delt with the causes of the faithfull, and had many wayes cruelly intreated them: being afterwarde at the length condemned of falshode in the cause of the Countesse of *Senigana*, suffered by the decree of the Senate punishment openly in diuers places: and being thus ledde from place to place to be made an open spectacle for all men to behold to his great infamie and reproch, was also banished his countrie. This man while he was kept in prison, sayde, that he knew that the punishments which he suffered, were a iust reward and recompence to him for his euill intreating of the Lutheranes: and that he would neuer after seeke to do them any harme. In like maner one of the Counsellers which were appoynted to vnderstande and iudge of the causes of the faithfull, not long after died by sodaine death. Another of them likewise being sodenly striken with a most grieuous sickenesse, and being also at the poynt of death, sayde, I see plainly that I haue grieuously sinned against the Lutheranes, which so godly pray vnto the Lorde. In lyke maner, two other whiche were very cruell against the faithfull in the slaughter that was made on S. Iames daye, sodenly dyed in the sight of all men. Moreouer, two other when they returned from the murther of the afflicted faithfull, fell at

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contention within themselues, and at the last were slaine one of another. Thus the Lorde shewed many examples of his iust vengeance vpon his aduersaries.

Then the Church obtayned peace for a time, and some occasion to rest and breath for a whyle, by reason of those tempestes. They which were before, as it were discouraged through that former great slaughter, receyued nowe heart and courage againe: many others whith were eyther confirmed by the constancy of those blessed Martyrs which suffered, or els were lately brought to the knowledge of God, ioyned themselues to the Church: they also which to flye persecution went aside from out of the citie, were not altogither vnfruitful. Among these there was one which came to a towne called *Crucillum* in *Britayne*, neare vnto the sea coaste, the which towne was at that time greatly giuen to superstition, but it was brought to passe by his meanes within short time after, that many of the townesmen were called to the acknowledging of truth, insomuch that there was a congregation there. At the which good successe Satan was greatly grieued. Wherfore when the fame of this thing was spred abroade, the Bishop of *Nauetensis* or *Nauntes*, with a certaine power of his men, came thither, whome he had gathered togither for this matter: he giueth commaundement that clothes of tapistry worke and other ornaments be hong forth of euery house, vpon the solemne daye in the which he with his wandring power should passe through the Citie, thinking by this meanes to fynde out, who they were that were Lutheranes: then he commaundeth the Drumme to be stricken vp, and a signe to be giuen for men to prepare themselues to fight, and thus he filleth the Citie with armour and tumult.

Persecution stayed for a time.

Examples of iniuries done to the faithful.

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There was then present a certaine noble man, who was appoynted by the Kings commaundement to presse and muster men for the warre: this man admonisheth the Bishop into what perils he may bring the Citie, the Englishe

men their enimies approching neare, who, if they had knowledge of these troubles, might easily obtaine the Citie: but his perswasion prevailed so little, that he was also in daunger of his life, and hardly deliuered himselfe from the mad rage of the common people. Therefore the franticke people through euery corner of the Citie, are as it were drunken mad by the guidance and leading of the Bishop: and doe besiege and forcibly set vpon the houses, in the which there were nineteene of the faithfull congregated to make their prayers vnto God. But the faithfull earnestly beseech the people to be quiet, and if there were any thing to be obiected against them, they were ready to put themselues into the hands of the magistrate: The Bishop answereth that the cause of their comming was onely to haue the Minister, which they knewe to be among them. The faithfull intreate that the Magistrate of the Citie might be called forth, and he shoulde vnderstande the truth of the matter. When the *Prætor* or Magistrate of the Citie had entred the houses, and made diligent search through the same, he declareth that the Minister is not there. Notwithstanding the Bishop commaundeth the souldiers to set vpon and assault the houses: the which thing the people did with all the force they were able to make, seeking also to vndermine the houses. But all in vaine: for the faithfull that were in the houses, affirmed that vnlesse they woulde depart, they would driue them away. And thus they being nothing dismayed or troubled, commended themselues vnto God in Psalmes and songs. The Bishop hereat being more angry, commaundeth them to yelde themselues: the faithfull refused not to come forth to him, if the people might depart, saying that they were ready to make answere to those thinges whereof they were accused. But for all this the gunnes and other instrumentes of warre were set to, and bent against the houses. The faythfull seeing into what straytes and extremities they were brought, thought nowe

within

within themselues, that there was no remedie but that they must defende themselues: but bicause it coulde not be done without great slaughter of the people, if they did rashlye fall to offer stryppes, they thought it good not so to defende themselues vntill the verye extremitie came. Notwithstanding, when the people ranne with haste into the houses through the holes of the walles which they had made with Gunnes and other weapens, the faythfull shotte at them with Crossebowes, by force whereof many of them being slayne, the myndes of the other were so discouraged, that by and by the whole multitude ranne awaye, and great quietnesse was made throughout the whole Citie.

They therefore being thus miraculouslye deliuered, came forth singing the hundreth and foure and twentye Psalme, as they went through the middest of the Citie, and so escaped. The next daye following, the people being gathered togither againe, ouerthrewe those houses in the which the faythfull had bene, yea, and their houses also whome they suspected to be fauourers of their cause. The Bishoppe vnderstanding that the Senate of *Paris* disliked of this his facte, went to the King, and brought it so to passe by the meanes of them that were companions and confederates with him in the same his wicked furor, that the King allowed all that he had done. So lyttle was the equitie of the cause of the faythfull estéemed.

And very neare about this time also there séemed to be giuen a newe occasion to stirre vp affliction. For at *Paris* in a medowe or fielde nere adioyning to the same, commonly called the Clearks field, many of the faithfull, when others were busie at their sport and playe, began to sing Psalmes, little thinking that others would be stirred vp to do the like by their ensample. Notwithstanding, at the length it grewe to this, that when this exercise had bene vsed certayne

dayes, many, and men also of great estimation and fame, came togither to heare the sweete and pleasant harmonie of the singing multitude. They which coulde not sing, and which had not as yet the knowledge of God, went into the most conuenient places of the fielde, to heare that which was song: and hearing the same, confessed that it was wickedly done to forbid the singing of so honest & godlie songs. But while this went forwarde, the aduersaries, as though they were vtterly spoyled, went to the king, and declared to him that the Lutheranes had moued sedition at *Paris*: that they were ready to thrust his maiestie out of his kingdome: that a great number of them were gathered togither in armour to conspire against him: and therefore they requested him to prouide for this mischiefe: for (say they) the Catholike Church, and your whole kingdome is in great daunger. When the king heard this, he commaundeth that there be prohibition and stay made by a publike Edict, that men sing no more in that place, nor in that companie: and also that there shoulde be inquirie made of those which had song. They which were the chiefe of the reformed Church, seeing into what suspitions those companies were brought, giue admonition to their friendes, that they neuer againe gather themselues togither in that place to sing as they vsed before: if they woulde sing, to sing at home. In the meane time, many for this matter were apprehended, who notwithstanding afterward for the lightnesse of the cause were set at libertie. At the last, when the Bishops preachers saw that the king did fauour them, they perswaded with the people, that it was an acceptable thing vnto God, and a meritorious worke (as they call it) for a man to kill a Lutheran. And truly, the beastly rage and madnesse of that people by these perswasions, was prouoked, insomuch that the reynes of temperancie losed, they ran headlong to commit what mischiefe they could: of the which matter, among many, we will bring certaine examples.

On a certaine day, after a Sermon, it so fell out, that two men contended togither by wordes in the Churchyarde of S. Innocentes, the one of them, to the ende he might stirre and procure hatred to the other, by a reprochfull and odious name, cried that the people might heare, which were nowe going out of the Church, a Lutherane, a Lutherane: when the people hearde this, they fell streight way vpon him, and pursued him into the temple, whither at the length he fled as to a sanctuarie and place of refuge. A certaine Noble man by chaunce passing through the Church, with his brother with him, who was a Priest, and hearing that the people were about to kill a man, ranne in all the haste vnto them, and sought by gentle wordes to turne the mindes of the people from their wicked purpose, that therby he might deliuer the man out of their handes. But a certaine Masse priest crieth out, saying, that he was the man whome they sought for, being one that durst take vpon him to defend a Lutherane, at the hearing whereof, the people run vpon the Noble man, vsing violence, and at the first beating him with their fists. The Noble mans brother, which was with him, began to intreate for him: but the people were more vehement and madde, by his intreatie, insomuch that they bring them both violently out of the temple, least it shoulde be defiled with bloude, or prophaned. One of these two, namely the Noble man, being stronger and better able to shift for himselfe than the other, escaped their handes, and fled into the Curates or Parishe Priestes house harde by. The other, which was (as we saide before) a Priest, was not so sone out of the Church, but he was thrust through with a dagger: of the which, he being nowe lyke to die, calleth vpon Saints, and desireth to be confessed of his sinnes, (whereby it might haue appeared of what religion he was) and at the length being wounded with other strokes, he was quite dispatched of lyfe. And yet this stayed not their rage and madnesse: for when he was starke deade, they did

all to bemangle and cut his deade carcas: yea, and some of them thrusting their handes into the grene woundes, did afterwardes bragge that they had dipped their handes in the blonde. This man being thus dispatched, they beset the house of the Parishe Priest rounde about, least the other brother shoulde escape awaye, being fledde thither (as is sayde before) for succour and defence: saying that they woulde offer the like violence to the Magistrate, yea, and to the King himselfe, if so be he woulde helpe a Lutherane. But at the length the night comming, they forsoke their siege, and so the noble man escaped.

Not long before this tyme, there happened another thing, which also I thought good here to insert. There was a certayne Sorbonist, or Popishe Doctor, whome men called the Soule of Picardie: This fellowe was a famous blower forth and mouer of sedition: being oftentimes verye vehement to inflame the people against the Lutheranes, perswading them that it was a verye good and acceptable worke before God, to shedde the blonde of the Lutheranes, and that they shoulde no lesse deserue at his handes thereby, than did the children of Israel in slaying the Idolatrous Cananæans: adding moreouer, that in so doing, the handes of the godly Catholikes should be consecrated and hallowed.

Therefore as this man on a time, was preaching to the people, a certaine deuout man which came to heare his sermon, vpon some occasion, or deceite that he had in his mind, laughed vnto his fellow that late next vnto him. The which an old womā there present, saw, who cried that there was a Lutherane in ỳ Church, which did deride & laugh ỳ preacher to scorne. When the multitude that were there assembled, heard this, they sodenly start vp, & reasoning no further of the matter, they drew the man out of the temple, & putting forth his eyes, and pashing forth his braynes, most cruelly slew him. These were the fruits of these seditious sermons preached

preached by the Sorbonistes and Papisticall Doctors. The faithfull being thus miserably handled, were accused to the King, and to all the people, of sedition, and were accounted and taken for seditious persons. The fruites of the sermons of the Papistes.

About this time also, Andelotius the brother of the Admirall Castillion, or Shatilion, was taken for religion, and put in holde, by this occasion. At what time intreatie was made for peace, betweene the Kinges of Fraunce and Spayne, Granuellus Bishoppe of *Atrebatensis* or *Artois*, made complaynt to the Cardinal of *Loraine* (for these were the Ambassadours betwene both Kings) that Fraunce was greatly infected with Lutherianes, in so much that the Noble men of the Realme also were polluted therewith: among whom, he said, that Andelotius had sent a booke to his brother the Admirall, in the which booke he did grieuously condemne the Masse: the which talke and communication was caried by the same Cardinall of *Loraine* to Henrie King of Fraunce: and Fraunces Duke of *Guise*, going with an armie to *Thionuilla*, sayde vnto the King, that he did not looke to haue prosperous successe of his armie, if Andelotius were Generall of the footemen, which charge in deede was before committed vnto him. When the King heard this, being desirous to retayne the friendship of the Constable, he commaundeth the Admiral Castilliō, brother to Andelotius, and Marescallus Momorencius, to perswade Andelotius, that he shoulde giue vnto him a reuerent answere concerning the Masse. The King (as hee was instructed by the Cardinall of *Loraine*) demandeth of Andelotius, what he thought of the Masse. To the which question, he answereth freely, saying: Wheras the Masse is called a sacrifice for the quick & the dead, which only belongeth to the sacrifice of Christ (being once offred for all, and neuer to be offered againe) I think ẏ it is a detestable idol fained by the brain & inuentiō of men. The King hearing this answere, tooke it in very euill part, and being angrye, forbad him his presence, and commaun-

commaunded that he shoulde be put in warde: and another to be made Generall of the fotemen in his steade. But after the returne home againe of the Constable, Andelotius was restored to his former office, and reconciled into the fauour of the king againe.

At the length the peace before spoken of, was concluded, betwéne the two kings, the chiefe and speciall point of the which peace was, that the two kings should procure forthwith a generall Councell to be holden, to the rooting vppe and destroying of heresies. It was reported among the cõmon sort of people, that the kings made a peace to this end, that they might ioyne in force togither to warre against the Lutheranes, who mightily increased dailye in both their Realmes. They were greatly confirmed in these opinions, by the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and also by Granuellus Bishop of *Atrebatensis*, commõly called *Artois*, who within a while after was made a Cardinall by the Pope. Notwithstanding, the number of the Lutheranes newly increased from day to daye, the blame and fault of the which increase was layde vpon the Iudges, and specially vpon the Senate of *Paris*, as though they had bene to fauourable in their dealing. For the which cause it was apointed that there should be a newe assembly made to consider of the Edict of *Castellobrian*: (of the which we haue spoken before, and that they shoulde first of all deale with matters concerning religion. The company therfore being assembled & called togither, the kings Solicitor propounded vnto them these matters: First, that there were diuers opinions in matters that cõcerned Religion, founde lately in the Senate, disagréing and contrarie one to another: as, when some condemned heretikes to be burnt, other some would not haue them to be burnt, but mittigated the payne by banishment: the which would redounde to the reproche and shame of the Senate: Wherefore he required that their sentences and iudgements might be conformable and agréing euer hereafter

The parliament at Paris.

after with the preſcript and tenure of the Edicte which appointed the punishments of death. The which in deede was the moſt ſpeedie and readie way to detect thoſe Iudges that were ſuſpected of religion, as after truly it came to paſſe. For when euery man freely vttred his minde and opinion, as the cuſtome is, there were diuers iudgementes: ſome woulde haue no punishment by death, but banishment: other ſome, before any thing was determined, woulde haue it knowne whether they were heretikes in deede, which were counted heretikes. Alſo he ſayd that it was the Kings will that heretikes ſhoulde be puniſhed: and the office of the Senate to ſée and finde out who they were that were guiltye of hereſie. And for this cauſe he inuited them to make ſupplication vnto the King, that according to the firſt article of the peace concluded, he woulde cauſe a lawfull Councell to be aſſembled, to iudge of theſe controuerſies: and that they ſhoulde in the meane time leaue off to puniſhe. But ſome ſayde that it coulde not be hidde, but was apparant for all men to beholde what greate corruptions had inuaded the Church, and howe needefull and requiſite it was, a reformation to be had, and that by the worde of God, which is the onely rule of veritie, and not cuſtome, antiquitie, or the opinions of men. Furthermore they added, that there was daunger, and therefore great heede to be taken, leaſt while they (whome they called Lutheranes) were condemned, Innocentes alſo ſhoulde be put to death. For (ſay they) the Lutheranes (as we terme them) haue probable reaſons to defend their doctrine withall: whoſe life is irreprouable, and without blame, vſing themſelues oftentimes to praye deuoutly and zealouſly to God, as it hath well appeared to the Senate: to be ſhort, ſuch is their conſtancie, that thereby they ſhewe themſelues not to be ſuch maner of men as they are ſayde to be, among the common ſort of people. Thus at this time, ſome ſpake one thing, ſome another: howbeit, the greateſt part, would

haue either the punishment to be mittigated, or else the men to be quite discharged. Many feared least this sentence and determination of thase that spake in the behalfe of the Lutheranes, shoulde take place: whereupon two of the Counsell (as it is credibly reported) namely Egidius and Minardus, went to the King, and declared the matter wholy vnto him, before the Court had concluded what shoulde be done (against both lawe and auncient custome) saying vnto him that the matter was nowe come to such a straite, that great remedie must be prouided for the same, otherwise great perturbations and trouble would ensue: adding moreouer, that the boldenesse of some was such, that they durst arrogantly deride the auncient religion, and as for the Edicts of the King, they made no account of them at all.

The King being inflamed and greatly stirred with this newes, came the next day into ỹ senate: where he declared that he hauing now obtained at the handes of God, the most excellent benefit of peace, & confirmed the same with the societie & sure knot of matrimonie, there wãted yet one thing which he greatly desired, namely, ỹ setting of matters cõcerning religion, in a good & vniforme order: & for this cause he said that he came into ỹ Court, namely to vnderstand, both in what state the matter stode, & also to cõfort & incourage them by his presence. And so he signified by the keeper of the seales, that he would haue them to follow that order which they had begon, in shewing their opinions. Therefore of the which resisted, some were more colde, fearing some subtill practise to be in hand, other som notwithstãding, spake their fantasies and opinions, with no lesse boldnesse than they did before, especially concerning the lawfull calling of a Councel or Parliament. And among others, Andas Burgæus, a man very godly & wel learned, when he had first of al giuẽ thãks vnto God, that he had so wrought in the hart of the Prince, that he would be a witnesse & indifferent Iudge of so weighty a matter, and when he had exhorted the King to bend his minde,

minde, and giue good eare to so great & vrgent cause (being in deede the cause of our Lord Iesus Christ, which ought to be defended by the patrocinie & garde of Kings) very boldly and freely uttered his minde, affirming at the length that he did wholy giue his cõsent & agree that there should be a coũcel called, & that the punishments then vsed toward ỹ Lutheranes, for that time should surcease. Others also after him, affirmed ỹ like. When the King had heard these men, he making first his preamble, said: that to his griefe and sorow he saw corruption to be crept in euẽ into his Court, being very sorie that any of his Nobles should be stayned therwith: the god he knew, as for ỹ others, he said he wold so punish, that he would therby extirpe & quite pull vp by ỹ rotes that mischief which was now a growing. These threatnings ended, & talking a while with those that stode with him, he cõmaũded that Annas Burgæus & Lodouicus Faurus should be takẽ: ỹ which his cõmandement was streightway executed by Mõgomerie Captaine of the Garde. After this, others also were taken, as Fumæus Foixius, & many others. And those ỹ were of those opinions, looking to be handled as they were, got thẽ out of the citie: but afterward they were openly proclaimed. Foixius.

About the same time almost, a Synode was holde at *Paris*, many ministers of the Churches (which were thẽ called the reformed Churches) being then called togither for thys matter, in the which both the doctrine of the faith, and also Ecclesiasticall discipline, were copiously & largely intreated of: & truly as the time required, the forme of discipline which was alredy appointed, which was also afterward by many Synodes and Councels inlarged, and examined by the rule of Gods word, and the approued customes of the auncient Church brought much profit: all which matters here to declare, is not our purpose. Howbeit, these thinges following were the principall points thereof. The first Synode of the Churches of Fraunce.

1 First, it is agreed, that the confession of the doctrine, which may testifie the cõmon consent of the Churches, be

be registred, to the ende that no straunge opinions craftily be conueyed in.

2 That all things be done in order in the Churches.

3 That so often as might conueniently, there shoulde be Councels, Synodes, or Parlings, of those Churches that were not farre off.

4 That there be diligent eye and heede giuen, specially to the doctrine, and also the maners of Ministers.

5 That no Minister vsurpe superioritie or principalitie by any maner of meanes among his fellowe Ministers, but that all things bee done indifferently, and soberlye among them.

6 That all offences and stumbling blocks be taken away.

7 That the faithfull be taught their dutie, and also instructed in the puritie of the worde, and in the chaste rule of discipline.

8 That nothing in this discipline be rashly altered by one man, or by one Church without the authoritie of the generall Councell.

But now when the most excellent and famous Princes Protestantes of *Germanie*, vnderstoode of the great punishments and intollerable afflictions layde vpon the faithfull for the Gospels sake: they sent their Ambassadours with their charge and letters vnto the King, beseeching him that he woulde inhibite and staye those grieuous persecutions: of the which their letters, this was the effect and summe as followeth.

The summe of the letters of the Princes of Germanie sent to the King.

When they vnderstoode and weyed with themselues, that men in all ages, estates, and times, suffered imprisonment and bondes for professing the doctrine of the Gospell, which is contrarie to those superstitions which are of the most part obserued: and that for the same cause onely, they were extremely punished both in body and goodes: they also knowing themselues to be members of the same heade Christ with them, whome they hearde to be so cruelly han-

dled,

bled, and being perſwaded, that they were bounde in con- »
ſcience to helpe them ſo much as they might: they thought »
good for theſe cauſes to ſende their Ambaſſadours vnto the »
King with thoſe letters. »

And that the King might not thinke that the matter is »
not throughly conſidered of of them, they ſignifie vnto him »
that they knowe for a ſuretie, that thoſe men which were »
reſtrained from their libertie, did maintaine or defende no »
ſeditious opintons, nor any thing elſe that is contrary to the »
true and Apoſtolicall articles of the Chriſtian faith. And bi- »
cauſe they themſelues did take no leſſe labour and paine »
than the King himſelfe, to rote out and abolithe all thoſe »
things which were againſt the glorie of God, and did onely »
deſire to defende the true inuocation of his holy name, and »
the ſyncere doctrine of the Catholike Church, contained in »
the writings of the Prophetes, Apoſtles, and Fathers: and »
alſo did ſeuerely punithe the maintainers of falſe doctrine, »
and men of impure and vnhoneſt lyfe: and to be ſhort, bi- »
cauſe they themſelues did acknowledge and worſhip one »
God, as the hyeſt and Lorde of all: theſe were the cauſes »
which had moued them to write thoſe letters of intreatie, »
for the releaſing of thoſe captiues out of miſerie, whoſe do- »
ctrine they knewe to be farre from all falſhode, hereſie, and »
ſeditious opinions: the which thing might euidently ap- »
peare by their confeſſion, the which they ſent vnto the King »
to that ende: There is no man but he will confeſſe that »
many corruptions are crept into the Church, and haue pre- »
uayled, partly by error, and partly by couetouſneſſe, to rote »
out the which (ſaye they) that diuers good and godly men »
haue taken great paine of late: and that not long ſince alſo, »
certaine vertuous and ſingular learned men in the vniuer- »
ſitie of *Paris*, as VVilliam of *Paris*, Gerſone, VVeſſelus, and »
others, had done the like: and alſo that they themſelues »
haue reformed errours in their dominions, for the which, »
they are not a little wyfull: Moreouer, that his father king »

" Frances of happie memorie, a Prince of singular wisedome
" and vertue, purposed to haue made the like reformation, fo-
" lowing herein the examples of his auncetors the Kings of
" Fraunce, who woulde oftentimes themselues finde out the
" controuersies that happened in the Church: The which
" waye he ought to followe in ending these matters, rather
" than to suffer the cruelties of manye against their brethren
" and his subiectes: assuring himselfe of this, that he shoulde
" so smallye preuayle in suppressing the doctrine of the Gos-
" pell, by those sharpe and cruell punishments, that contrary-
" wise the bloude which was shed for the same, shoulde be the
" séede more and more dailye to increase the number of
" christians: and furthermore, that by this meanes, namely,
" by shedding of bloude, he shoulde haue the greatest part of
" his faithfull subiectes cut from him. Beside all this, that
" God doth threaten to take vengeaunce of the bloude of In-
" nocentes vniustly shedde, and will seuerely punishe those
" which shall reiect the perfect knowledge of his doctryne
" and truth. Moreouer, they signifie vnto the king in their
" letters, that they did of late sue vnto him, and require the
" selfe same thing of him that they doe nowe, by their letters
" then, and Ambassadours also, and were almost perswaded
" by his answere againe that he woulde neuer more suffer
" the miserable Christians so to be afflicted and oppressed
" with those iniuries: Notwithstanding, that they vnder-
" stode that the same affliction, by all maner of punish-
" ment was as great in his kingdome, as euer it had bene
" before. Insomuch, that in this poynt they did greatly be-
" wayle, (so much as Christian Charitie required) the state
" and condition of his good and faythfull subiectes, who for
" this cause were onely afflicted, for that they followed that
" doctrine which they retayned sure and firme in their Chur-
" ches, and in the which they grounded their fayth: The
" which wonderfully grieued them, not onely because they
" sawe that it was preiudiciall and hurtfull to them, but
chiefly

chiefly bicauſe they perceyued the glozie of the moſt migh-
tie God to be defaced, and as it were derided. And bicauſe
Charitie with the which his ſubiects were beloued of men,
did pzouoke them alſo to wiſhe their peace and tranquili-
tie, and aboue all things to deſire that the King might be-
haue himſelfe in that thing which appertained to the glozye
of God and ſoules health, that he might not pzouoke the
wzath of God againſt him: they moſt hartily beſæch hym
that he woulde pzudentlye erpende and weigh all the cir-
cumſtances of this facte: and ſpecially that he woulde con-
ſider the cauſes why his miſerable ſubiectes ſhoulde be ſo
greatly troubled: and that he woulde endeuour himſelfe
that the Church of God might be pourged from all theſe
coꝛzuptions with the which it had bene a long time conta-
minated and infected: in ſo doing he ſhoulde ſatiſfie the
honeſt deſire of a great number in this poynt. And bi-
cauſe he coulde not come to the knowledge of thoſe things
which were of ſo great weyght, without the hearing of
the iudgementes of godlye learned men, they perſwaded
him to call vnto hym out of hande, men expert in know-
ledge, and deſirous of Gods glozie, after the enſample of
his Elders, by whome the matters nowe in controuer-
ſie might be vpzightlye and peaceably decided and deter-
mined by the rule of holye Scripture. Alſo, that whyle
theſe thinges were in hande, and vntill it were fully con-
cluded of the matters in controuerſie, his ſubiectes which
followe the doctrine agræing to their confeſſion which
lately they defended, might go vntroubled, and vncon-
ſtreyned to doe anye thyng agaynſte their conſcience:
that nothing myght bee deuyſed to put them in peryll
of lyfe and goodes: and that they whiche were in pzi-
ſon, myght bee ſette at libertie. To conclude, they af-
firme, that they perceyue that their earneſt requeſtes
ſhall no leſſe pzeuayle with him, than the cryings and
impoztunitie of the aduerſaries of the truth hath done.

The

"The which, if it come to passe according to their expectatiō, "he shall fulfill the commaundement of the sonne of God, "who specially committeth his Church, which he hath redée- "med with his most precious bloude to Princes: & also shall "shewe great mercie and compassion, and be very beneficiall "towardes his subiectes, if so be he woulde giue them leaue "to inuocate and worship God aright. In reknowledging "whereof, they testifie themselues to be ready, and vpon "this condicion, will constantly abide for euer the Kinges friendes.

To these letters subscribed the Earle of *Palatine*, the Duke of *Saxonie*, Marchio of *Brandeburge*, VVolfgangus Earle of *Weldentsius*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberge*.

The king when he had saluted the Ambassadours, according to the maner and custome, maketh a very short aunswere, in this forme, saying: that he will forthwith sende such an aunswere, that he trusted thereby sufficiently to satisfie them. But notwithstanding, the Ambassadours of the Princes were as yet scarcely departed, but that the fire of persecution, which séemed to be extinguished before, by their comming, burned the faithfull a freshe. Moreouer, the causes of those Counsellers, who (as we sayd before) were taken in the Senate of *Paris*, came now in question. Iudges also were chosen, which shoulde consider the cause of Annas Burgæus, but not indifferent Iudges, but such as were great enimies to that which he defended. And among others, the Bishop of *Paris*, and Demochares the Inquisitor were chosen for this purpose: the which Iudges when Burgæus refused, desiring that he might be iudged of the whole felowship and assemblie of the Senate, according to the ancient and accustomed lawe of the Senate of *Paris*, he was commaunded by the Kings letters patents to aunswere before those iudges. The which letters when he had hearde them red, he affirmed, that for obedience sake to the King, he woulde aunswere, otherwise he woulde haue made no aunswere

Annas Burgæus examined, condemned, and iudged to dye.

anſwere at all: therefore, they demaunding of him, he made anſwere to all thoſe principall points of Popiſh religion, which are at this day in controuerſie; as to the traditions of the Church, to inuocation of Saints, to Purgatorie, to the Maſſe, and to the reſt. All the which he diſſyllyng and gayneſaying, was at the laſt condemned by the Biſhop of *Parys*, for an heretike: and becauſe he had taken certayne orders (as they call them) the ſame Biſhop giueth commaundement that he ſhoulde be diſgraded, and ſo giuen ouer to the ſecular power.

The which ſentence as it was falſlye giuen, ſo Burgæus appealed from the ſame to the celeſtiall Iudge.

And nowe at this time thoſe outragious formes of perſecution did ſeeme to beate vpon euery corner of the church of Chriſt. The king ſent new letters to euery Parliament, in the which he commaundeth that the Lutheranes ſhoulde be moſt ſeuerely perſecuted. Heretofore (ſayth he) in the troubleſome time of warres, the Lutherans greatly increaſed: but nowe that he had inioyed and gotten peace, he wold wholy bende himſelfe and all his force vtterlye to race and deſtroy them: wherefore he exhorteth them to vſe the ſame diligence in doing the like. If they want power and ſtrēgth, he promiſeth that he will prouide for them a bande of ſouldiers, to be redy to ayde thē at al nede. In any wiſe he willed them not to be colde in their buſineſſe, as ſome began to be, for if they were, he woulde firſt begin with them, and make them feele the ſmart of puniſhment prepared for others.

Therefore all the Courtes, Senates, and Aſſemblies being with this generall commaūdement of the king moued, they thunder out, and ſhake both heauen and earth with newe threatnings and Edicts. In the middeſt of this great diſtreſſe and troubles of the faithfull, there was great ioye, triumph, ſolemnitie, and feaſting, for the peace confirmed betweene the two kinges by the knot of matrimonie: all

which ioy and pleasure, was by and by, sodenly turned into great sorrowe and woe. For King Henrie to solemnize the matrimonie, willed a Iusting or running at Eyle to be prepared, the which being done, and diners of his Peeres and Nobles armed in a readinesse, he himselfe desired, among all others, to runne against Momgomerie Captaine of his garde: who being very loth and unwilling so to doe, was commaunded earnestly of the King to run against him, the King himselfe putting a speare into Momgomeries hande: and running togither in a broade way that leadeth to S. Anthonies streete, not farre from the Castell into the which the two Counsellers (of whome we spake before) were put, a peece of one of the speares or tulting staues, by the great force and violence of their running, strake the King through the helmet into the eye, and so to the brayne, wherewith he was sore hurt. Then the wounded King, after much bleeding, was caried into the house called the smal towers. Manye men report that he sayde in his greatest griefe and payne, that he greatly feared, that he had committed wickednesse, and done iniurie against his two Counsellers: but the Cardinall of *Lorraine* did labor earnestly to turne his minde from that opinion, often crying and inculcating these wordes into his eares: The aduersarie of the faith tempteth thee: persеuere constantly in the faith. The King by the earnest and continuall perswasion of that Cardinall, had bene verye cruellye minded and bent against those Counsellers, in so much that threatening, he spake these wordes: I my selfe will see the burning of Burgæus. It was noted of manye, that the King was wounded and slayne by him, whome he commaunded to carie Burgæus to prison: who was (as is sayde before) Momgomerie, a mortall enimie at that time to the reformed Religion, the which he vehemently persecuted upon the straite commandements and charge given unto him for the same purpose. But afterwarde he was brought to the knowledge of

The death of king Henrie.

the

the truth, & became a very profitable member of the Church of Christ. And thus King Henrie being weary of his mortall life, through extreme griefe and paine, surrendred the same againe to him that gaue it, in the yeare of our Lorde God, M. D. L I X. the.x. day of August.

By this sodaine chaunce, the ioy and mirth was turned into sorrowe and heauinesse, all men wondring to beholde so sodeyne an alteration and chaunge. The Court which was seled, pergitted, sumptuously decked, and prepared for dauncing, leaping, and other pastyme, to make a pleasant and ioyfull mariage, was nowe conuerted to another vse: namely, to kepe the Kings deade bodie. There, bewaylings were made, with dolefull and lamentable songs in blacke and mourning garments, the space of fortie days, and fortie nightes.

But notwithstanding this time of mourning and sorow, the afflictions moued against the Church, which semed by that wonderfull chaunce of the King to cease, coulde not be allwaged by any meanes: neither did the aduersaries cease to prosecute and follow the law against these two Counsellers. Therfore when Burgæus had oftentimes appealed frō them, his appeales being pronounced by the Court to be nothing and of no force, he was at the length condemned by the Bishop of *Paris*, from whome before he had appealed; and was also disgraded. The which he taking in very good part, as might appeare by his cherefull countenance, spake these wordes: To daye (sayth he) it is brought to passe by the singular goodnesse of God to warnes me, that to the ende I might neuer more haue to doe with Antichrist, the badges and markes of that great beast are taken from me.

Diuers thought Burgæus vsed many appeals to put of his aduersaries, ỳ thereby he might delay the time & prolong his life: notwithstanding, he writing letters to ỳ church of *Paris*, affirmed ỳ he did it not to preserue or prolōg his life, ỳ which he would willingly bestow for the gospels sake, but rather ỳ

he might leaue not to pretermit any thing which appertained to defende his right. And therfore thinking that he had not done sufficiently by his plaine and manifest answeres, he writeth also a confession, in the which he professeth plentifully and plainly what he thought of euery speciall point of religion.

Notwithstanding, afterwarde by the earnest perswasions and importunitie of his friends, he was brought to that poynt, that he propounded and deliuered to the Iudges a certaine ambiguous and doubtfull confession: in so much that then there was great hope that he shoulde be set at libertie. Of the which thing when the heads & gouernours of the reformed Church had intelligence, being very carefull for Burgæus, notwithstanding, being sorie that he should after that maner be deliuered out of prison, and from death, commaunded one of the Ministers, to put Burgæus in mind of his dutie. And certainely their friendly admonitions did so much preuayle with Burgæus, that he by and by earnestly acknowledging his fault, desired at the handes of God pardon for the same: and quite altereth that which before he had done. Therefore he offereth to his Iudges againe another suppliant booke, by which he reuoketh his doubtfull and last confession, affirming that he standeth to his first confession, and requireth that he maye haue iudgement of his cause thereby, and that the last sentence eyther of condemnation or deliuerance may stande therepon.

The summe of the confession of Burgens.

That confession is truly more large, notwithstanding, so well deseruing to be remembred, that I thought good here to infert the same. And first of all in that confession, he affirmeth himselfe to be a Christian, that is to saye, such a one as embraceth the doctrine of God the father, and his true sonne Iesus Christ, of one substance and coeternal with the father, and also of the holy ghost, who is all one with the father and the sonne, being the very power of the father and the sonne. Secondly, that God created man after his owne

Image

Image and similitude: who notwithstanding by the suggestion of ỹ Serpent, that is to say, of Sathan, fell from God, and made not only himselfe, but also al his posteritie partakers of grieuous punishmentes, sinne also cleauing to hys sede vnto the ende of the worlde. Thirdly, that there is but one waye to salnation, namely Jesus Christ, who being the very sonne of God, became perfect man, and toke vpon him all our infirmities, sinne only excepted. This seconde Adam hath fulfilled the lawe for vs, and made vs thereby partakers of euerlasting righteousnesse: he liued here a time on earth, died, and was buried, and after he had ouercome death, he rose againe the thirde daye: ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hande of the Father, making intercession for vs daily to him, vntill he shall come to iudge the quicke and the deade. Fourthly, that he doth leane and stay himselfe onely vpon Gods worde (that is to saye, vpon the bookes of the olde and newe Testament) penned, pronounced, and vttered by the holy ghost, the Prophetes and Apostles being only instruments. And that this is the only and euerlasting rule of truth: to adde vnto the which, or to take any thing therefro, is great wickednesse. Therefore all the lawes and Ceremonies which Popes and others haue made, cannot binde the consciences of men. And when he had layde this foundation, he sayth that he doth detest the constitutions of the Pope, by which he woulde seme to be more wyse than the most prudent and mightie Lorde: being also most contrarie to all truth: the which thing he maketh more manifest, by comparing the commaundementes of God with the traditions of the Pope. God (sayth he) commaundeth vs to worke sixe dayes, and to rest the seuenth daye: but the Pope to adde thereto his deuise, exempteth certaine dayes in the which he forbiddeth to worke. God permitteth vnto vs the vse of all meates with giuing of thankes: but the Pope forbiddeth the same. Our Sauiour Christ commaundeth that they which haue not the gift of

A comparison betwene the doctrine of the Gospell and the Romishe doctrine.

continencie shoulde marie: but the Pope most seuerely forbiddeth his Clergie to marie, against the customs of the auncient Church. God forbiddeth Images to be set in churches, but the Pope cõmaundeth the contrarie. And therfore he concludeth that he is very Antichrist, and very liuely described of the Apostle Paule so to be. After this, he answereth to euery one of the Articles of the interrogatories one by one: as to inuocation of Saints: to the placing of Images in the temples: to the Sacraments: to Purgatorie, and to the rest. I therefore (sayeth he) acknowledging by what superstitions and errours I haue bene hytherto ledde and blinded, doe nowe affirme, that I doe vnfeynedlye abiure and abhorre them all, euen from the bottome of my heart, as things contrarie to the doctrine of my Lorde and Sauiour Iesus Christ, which is the worde reuealed by the holy spirite of God, and written by the Prophetes and Apostles. The which worde, I receyue and embrace as the rule of my whole lyfe, euen as in olde time, the fierie piller led the children of Israell through the Desert to the lande of promise. I protest that I will direct and frame my whole life according to the prescript rule of that worde, by the assistance of Gods holy spirit, which shall be with me, & order all my wayes: without the which I can do nothing, and by which all things are possible vnto me. Insomuch that I am perswaded that all things shall happen to the glorye of the Lord, to the enlarging of the kingdome of his sonne, to the building of his Church, and to my soules health, which I commende vnto him: to whome I giue most harty thanks: whom I most humbly pray in the name of Iesus Christ his welbeloued sonne, that he will strengthen and stablishe me by his holy spirite in this fayth vnto the ende: and that it will please him to graunt me strength for his mercies sake with my heart and mouth boldly to confesse his holy name, both before the faithfull, and also before Infidels, tyrants, and murthering butchers of Antichrist, euen to the shed-

2. Thes. 2. 3.

ding

ding of the vtmoſt drop of my blood. All my deſire is to liue and dye in this fayth, being fully perſwaded that the ſame is grounded vpon the worde of God alone, and that all the Saintes, Patriarkes, Prophetes, and Apoſtles, did liue and dye therein. This is the only true knowledge of God, in the which the vndoubted and eternall felicitie of men is placed. This I ſaye, is the fayth in the which I will both liue and die. To this confeſſion I haue ſubſcribed with my owne hande, being readye alſo to ſeale the ſame with my bloude, for the defence of the doctrine of the ſonne of God: whom I pray to open the eyes of your heartes, that at the length (if it be his will) ye maye knowe and vnderſtande the truth.

Therefore when he had wholye confirmed that confeſſion, and had with his owne mouth plainely teſtified the ſame before his Iudges, then was there no hope left that Burgæus ſhoulde be deliuered. For he had great and mightie aduerſaries, among whome, his chiefe and principall enimie was the Cardinall of Loraine, who left nothing vndone that might by any maner of meanes haſten his death. For he feared, leaſt at the length he ſhoulde bee deliuered by the King. For many noble men, as Fredericke Earle of Palatine Prince Elector, and others, had very earneſtly written to the King for him.

All things therefore being ſo appointed, as wee haue ſhewed, hys aduerſaries thought that they had manye iuſt reaſons, by which they might condemne him to dye. And therefore on the twentie day of December, they pronounce the ſentence of death againſt him: namely, That Burgæus being condemned of hereſie, ſhoulde be burnt with fire, vntill his bodie were conſumed to aſhes. The which ſentence Burgæus heard, and receiued cheerefully: and when he had heard it, he gaue thanks vnto God that had ſuffred him to ſee ſo ioyfull and happie a daye: and prayed alſo vnto God, that he woulde pardon and forgiue his Iudges, who

The ſentece of death againſt Burgæus.

who had iudged him according to their owne conscience and knowledge, but not according to the true knowledge and wisedome of God. Many wordes be uttered unto them at that time, which were so rhetorically, weightie, and sentencious, with vehemencie uttred, that it might well appeare, the holy ghost rather to speak than he: the which his wordes here to repeate, shall be nothing from our purpose.

Hath (sayth he) that fraudulent message of hell full of all guile and deceyte, and an abhominable lie, with deadly hatred, still striuing against the truth, so preuayled, that being accused unto you falsly for those men which we are not, shall so be condemned? We, I saye, are the sonnes of God, whome we knowe to be our father, with whom there is no respect of persons: with whome we are able to doe all thinges, and without whome, nothing: he it is, whome you ought to heare, speaking nowe unto you, otherwise he threateneth unto you death and destruction. It is (truly) the part of great and intollerable boldenesse, for men to dare presume so much against the holy and inuiolable commaundement of God.

Shall we suffer our redemption, and the bloude so plentifully shed for our sinnes, to be troden under foote? Shall we not obey that our most mightie king, who woulde haue us to defende his cause, who seketh us, who sustaineth us, who is also our Captaine in fight? What shall we do then? shall feare make us inconstant, or driue us from doing our dutie? No, we shall rather be strong and valiant, seeing we encounter with so weake an enimie. But beholde what this wicked generation commaundeth? that we suffer God to be blasphemed: that we betray the truth of God, and such like: the which because we will not do, we are counted execrable and wicked, yea, we are called seditious. We are (say they) rebels to Princes: and wherefore? because we will not offer unto Baal. O good God, how long wilt thou suffer the unbridled lustes, and ambitious willes of men to haue

their

their swaye. In the meane time, most merciful and loning father, till it shall please the to restraine them, haue mercy vpon vs: leade vs forth, and gouerne vs, in defending of thy truth, to the vtmost of our power. Make it to be knowne (O Lord) that they themselues are rebels in deede to Princes: and I for my part while I haue breath, will not let to tel them so. Is this to play the part of a rebell, for a man to giue vnto his Prince both body and goodes and whatsoeuer else, to be at his pleasure? Is this the part of a traitor and Rebell, to praye vnto God for the preseruation and prosperitie of the King and the kingdome, and that he and his Ministers, Counsellers, and Magistrates, maye truly and faithfully doe their dutie, that all false worship being taken away, God may be glorified alone, and of all men purely worshipped? Is not this rather, rebellion, to deface Gods glorie, and to giue that honor due vnto him to creatures, and to followe the deuises and fantasies of men in worshipping him, to count it a vertue, to rent and teare the name of God with blasphemous othes, to suffer brothell houses and common stewes, and an infinite number of wickednesses me? I appeale here vnto you ye Senators: if ye beare the sworde of the Lorde only to reuenge his cause, to the punishment of wickednesse and vice, take heede I admise you what ye doe. Will ye giue iudgement and pronounce condemnation against your selues? Weigh and consider I pray you a little with your selues, the wickednes that is layde to our charge, and first of all iudge whether it be more meete for vs to obey you, rather than God. Are ye made so drunke with the Cup of the great beast? Doe ye after this sorte bring the people from falling into sinne, whome ye bring from the true worship of God? If you reuerence and feare more the opinions of men, than ye do the iudgement of God, consider with your selues what the people of forreine nations and kingdomes shall thinke of you, when the crueltie of your iudgements shall be spoken of in

euery place, yea, and that before so famous Princes.

By the tyrant Phalaris he meaneth the Cardinall of Loraine.

Howe many wickednesses doe ye commit, by the commaundements of that ruddie purpuled Phalaris, (canst thou O cruel tyrant, by thy cruel death cease our sobbing sighes?) who at his owne pleasure, for his proper aduauntage and gayne, aduanced the authoritie of certaine rulers, to the destruction of the King and the whole kingdome. At his commaundement ye so racke and torment our bodies, that ye your selues are constreyned to pitie the same. Howe great is your crueltie? But me thinketh I see teares fall from your eyes. Why weepe you? Can you hide the burthen of your consciences. Feare not, hardly, the iudgement of God, although ye be constreyned to tremble thereat. They which are condemned of you to die, reioyce, accounting death to be vnto them life: they are nothing abashed or dismayed at your crueltie, they regard not the iniuries offered vnto thē, and as for death, they count it a slepe, according to the Prouerbe: The conquerour dieth, and he that is conquered, lamenteth. What should it grieue me to be hanged? I know Lorde, that if euer any wickednesse deserued punishment and payne, the wickednesse of those deserueth it euen to the full, which reiect and contemne the benefite of thy sonne Christ. I imbrace (O Lorde God) that saying which thou hast put into the mouths of certaine of thy Martyrs, namely, that he is worthy of double punishment which receiueth not the offered redemption of our Sauiour. No man shall separate vs from Christ, what snares of trappes soeuer are layde for vs, and with what paynes soeuer our bodies shall be tormented, I knowe that we were appointed long ago as sheepe to the slaughter. Let them therefore kill vs, let them grinde vs to pouder and ashes: yet notwithstanding, they which dye to the Lorde liue still, and shall so ryse agayne at the resurrection of the iust. Whatsoeuer come to passe, I am a Christian, & a Christian will I be. Merye earnestly will I crie, that I may be heard, dying for my Lorde

and

and sauiour Iesu Christ. Since the matter standeth thus, why do I stay? take me hangman & carie me to ỳ gallowes. And repeating these wordes againe, and that with such vehemencie, that he made the teares to come out of the eyes of his aduersaries, he spake these words to ỳ Senators which were then present, namely, that he suffred death, bicause he would not acknowledge, iustification, grace, sanctification, merites, intercession, satisfaction & saluation to be in any other, than in Christ: & that therfore he died for the doctrine of the Gospel. And after many other words concerning this matter, at ỳ length he concluded with these words: Put out, put out one day those your flaming fires, come vnto the lord in newnesse of life, that your sinnes may be done away, let the wicked man forsake his ways, & the wicked cogitations of his heart, and then the Lorde will haue mercie. In the meane time, meditate and consider these thinges in your mindes. Beholde, I go now vnto the death.

When he had thus vttered his minde, the hangman tied his handes, and bounde him to the Cart, in the which he was caried to the strete commonly called San-Iani Greuæi, aboue foure hundred armed men garding him: beside this, the whole Citie of *Paris*, as though it bene at the cõming of their enimies, was furnished with armed men: the wayes that led to the place of execution were stopt vp, & the frequented places kept. Yet for all this, this godly Martyr, was nothing abashed, but abode couragious and constant. When he came to the place of execution, he put off his clothes himselfe, and being stripte naked, fetching great and deepe sighes, he loked vp stedfastly into heauen. And at the length vttered these few words only to the people: I am not come hither, either for theft nor murther, but to suffer only for the Gospels sake. For he had the libertie of his tongue graũted vnto him (which libertie other of the faithfull had not whẽ they came to suffer, hauing their tõgues first cut out of their heads) vpõ this condition, ỳ he should not speak to ỳ people.

The which he promised to obserue, that he might the better praye vnto God. Therefore when he had made his prayers to God, and shoulde nowe be sacrificed, he oftentimes repeated these wordes with a loude voyce: O my God, forsake me not, least I forsake thee. And being strangled, he was cast into the fire, sealing that with his bloude, and death, which before he had subscribed with his hande.

This was the ende of that good and godlye man being of great fame among the learned, both for his witte, and also his learning, and being also of honorable calling and great welth: who had no doubt in short time attayned to greater honor and dignitie in this lyfe, had not God reserued him, by the pure knowledge of his name, to this greatest preferment and dignitie of professing his truth, which the world counteth reproch. For Burgeus came of an honest familie and stocke, being borne in *Rionssius*, a towne in *Auergne*, and brought vp in good letters, who had so giuen himselfe to the studie of the lawe, that he became famous in the profession thereof. Afterwardes, being chosen to be one of the Senate of *Paris*, he left great fame of wit and learning behinde him, among the most noble men. Being therefore in the waye to come to greater honor and preferrement, beholde, God inueth him with more pure knowledge of hys worde, whereby he fearing no perils of times, ioyned himselfe to the reformed Church, and woulde be present at the sermons which were then secretly made: and thus dailye he was feruent more and more in godlye zeale: Insomuch, that he had not bene partaker of the Lordes supper passing once or twise, when he spake his mind so freely before king Henrie in the Senate house in the defence of the Gospell: by whose commaundement he was cast in prison, and from thence (as ye haue hearde) caried to execution. A singular example of the efficacie and force of the knowledge of God, and also of godlye constancie in so worthie a man, at the which, the godly hereafter shall iustly maruaile. His bloude truly

truly was the sede wherby the Church of Christ in Frãce did greatly increase and growe, as may plainly appeare by those things which followe.

Touching the other Counsellers, whom we sayd before were taken togither with Burgæus, this was the ende: after a while, they had diuers iudgementes giuen of them, by which they were deliuered. And the causes why these so escaped are these: namely, either the new Iudges, who to vnderstande their causes, examined them after another maner than the other was examined: eyther the diuersitie of times, in which chaunced many troubles: or else truly the very inconstancie of the captiued Counsellers themselues, relenting somewhat to their aduersaries.

About this time, Nicolaus Durandus, (who altering his name, called himselfe Villegagno, that is to say, a Conquerour of Cities, as though he had bene a newe conquering Vlysses) obtained of the king a nauie of shippes with men and bittaile accordingly, to sayle to the South Indians, taking with him many men which professed the reformed religion: to the ende (as he sayde) that the Gospell might to them be preached, and there planted. And when he was arriued into *America*, he sent to *Geneua*, that Ministers might be sent vnto him from thence: the which his desire was graunted, insomuch that he obtained two, namely, Peter Richerius, and George Charterius, who came vnto him with a great number of those faithfull Protestantes that fled out of Fraunce in the hote time of persecution. These men when they were come, began to preach the worde of God, and to appoint an order of discipline. There was also among the rest, a certaine man called Ianus Contachus, not long before, a Sorbonist or Papist, who came thither after Villegagno. This man being ambitious, desired greatly to be made a Bishop. Therefore he thought this a verye good way to obtaine his purpose: namely vpon the daye appointed for the ministration of the Lordes supper, to moue

certaine questions: as, whether Copes, and Surplesses, and such Priestlike garments were necessary to be vsed in that ministration: also, whether vnleauened breade and the mixing of water with wine, shoulde not in the same be vsed. The which he did in deede. Howbeit, for all this contention moued by him, the Supper of the Lord was then purely celebrated. But the controuersies increasing daily more and more among them, it was tolde vnto Villegagno, that there was a fame and report in Fraunce, that many Lutherans were come into *America*, by his meanes and guidance. At the hearing whereof Durandus Villegagno being made afearde, quite altered and chaunged his former minde and purpose, concerning the bringing in and establishing of the Gospell in those regions. And when as on a time Richerius ministred Baptisme, and sayd that all those things which were by the Papistes ioyned to Baptisme, after the institution of the Apostles, were depraued and corrupted additions, Villegagno made open proclamation, saying that Richerius lyed, and streightway affirmed that he had rather followe the ancient rites and customes of the Church made a thousande yeares ago, than the new opinions of Caluin, and other newfangled persons: adding also to this, that he woulde neuer more haue to doe with them. At the last, after long controuersie, it was concluded among them, that the articles which were in question, shoulde be sent to the Churches of Fraunce and Germanie, to iudge of them, whose iudgement and opinion they agreed to followe. For this cause Charterius was sent into Fraunce. But when Villegagno vnderstoode by rumors that great persecution continued still in Fraunce, he plainly vttereth his minde, and declareth that he would stand to none of all their iudgements and opinions, but woulde imbrace the doctrine of the Romishe Church, and forbiddeth Richerius to preach or to gather togither the congregation to praye any more. This was the cause why Richerius and Pontanus returned into Fraunce,

Fraunce, notwithstãding: the lets and impediments which Villegagno obiected vnto them: who in dede went about to bring to passe, that so soone as they came into Fraunce, they both might be deliuered into the handes of the magistrate. Many in like maner of the faithfull which abode in *America*, were very euil intreated for religion, some for this cause being drowned, left a signe and remembrance to the vtmost partes of the world, of their sufferance for the Gospel. And this truly was the issue and ende of the rashe and vndiscrete zeale of Villegagno,

But now let vs here bring in that, which we left behind vnspoken, concerning ỹ death of king Henrie. After that he was buried, & his funerals celebrated according to custome, & the new king Frances set in his rome, the Guises (hauing gotten authoritie and fauour with the King, by the meanes of the Quéene of Scottes his wife) left nothing vndone to aduaunce them to dignitie: seeking all they could to remoue others, to whom the gouernement of things appertained, but specially in this time of the Kings nonage, and at their pleasure placing whome it pleased them, to the great detriment, losse, & reproch of those Princes that were the Kings neare kinsemen, being of the same familie and lyne that he himselfe was of. But this their authoritie & power hapned vnto thẽ chiefly, to the destruction of the Church. Therfore that persecutiõ which seemed to end by ỹ wonderfull chaũce of king Henrie, begã now to be more behement thã before. And ỹ chiefest persecutors were the Guises, both for the olde rankred spite they bare to religion, and also for the vnbridled and ambitious desire they had to beare rule, and to get authoritie: the which they saw by no other meanes coulde stande. For the Cardinall of *Loraine* who also ioyned with the Guises, was greatlye dismayed and made afearde by newe rumours, which were daily brought from forreine Nations, namelye, that a conspiracie was made against them, by manye men whiche coulde not beare

Great afflictiõ of the Church after the death of king Henrie.

their

their tiraunie. And therefore the Guises thought it best to proclaime open warre against the Christians.

Then was there newe Edicts deuised and set forth more cruell than the other that were before, with newe punishmentes added to the same. In these, it was forbidden to make any secret or priuie assemblies vpon payne of death: and also promised to the bewrayers of such as should make the assemblies, the one halfe of the confiscation or forfeyture of their goodes, besides manye other great rewardes. There was also commaundement giuen to the ouerseers and searchers out of such, to receyue diligently the accusations brought vnto them: to take those that were accused: daily to search houses: and to certifie the Senate of the Citie what they had done in the premisses.

Furthermore, there was authoritie giuen to the *Prætor*, to hang and drawe, at his pleasure: that he might giue sentence of death against such as were before him accused for heresie, the benefite of appeale denyed and taken away from such as were condemned.

The Vicars and Curates also of euery Parishe were commaunded not to be slacke in excommunicating those whome they knewe to be Lutheranes. Besides this, there was impunitie and pardon giuen to the accusers, if so be, it fell out that their accusation were founde false.

An example of two false brethren.

About this time Sathan (who seeketh all that he may the destruction of Christes Church) to the ende nothing might be left vndone that might by any meanes hurt the same, taketh newe wayes in hand: as ye shall heare by this which followeth. So it was, that two false brethren fled from the Church of *Paris*. One of them was a Goldsmyth by his occupation, whome the Lorde had sometime vsed (as he doth oftentimes other hypocrites) as a meane in bringing many men to the knowledge of him: the other was a certaine Painters seruant. The first of these two, which was the Goldsmith, being for his wickednesse and euill life excommunicate

municate from the Church, came to Democharis the Inquisitor, and tolde him that he knewe many things concerning the Lutheranes, and that he forsoke their companie for this cause, that he might so much as lay in him, worke their destruction. And so whatsoeuer he knewe might be hurtful to the faithfull, the same he declared to the Inquisitor: giuing vnto him the names of such as were chief of ỹ church, and burdening them with grieuous crimes. To be short, he left nothing vntold, that might serue any maner of way to be hurtfull vnto them. To this fellowe, the Inquisitor gaue diligent eare, and encouraged him with great commendations to procéede in his well doing, promising vnto him great things: and to the ende he might not seeme to dallie, he gaue vnto him a summe of money for an earnest peny: and for the newes he brought him, he called him Saint Paule the Conuert. To be short, this fellowe perceyuing some fruite and profite to come vnto him for his treacheris and playing the Iudas part, added yet to his former wickednesse another mischiefe. So many as he knew to be weak, and not fully setled in the Christiã profession, he perswaded to go to the Inquisitor, and to desire his friendship, that they might be absolued and discharged of the punishment ensuing. Also he caried with him Catchpoles to so many of the houses of the faithfull, as he knew, that by them they might be apprehended. By this his secrete treason he made all the chiefe of the Church to flée. Nowe the other, which was the Painters seruant, enuying his maister for due correction ministred vnto his deserts, went and tolde the Iudges that he had frequented the Lutheranes companie by the commaundement and will of his maister. Whome the Iudges séeing to be so readye to accuse, inticed him by many faire promises, to bewraye such as he knewe to be Lutheranes: The which request of theirs he satisfied to the vttermost, saying that the common report was true, namely, that they satisfied their filthie lustes one with another: and saying al-

so that he himselfe had to doe with diuers yong maydens, whome he named. For the which cause he required that those Maidens with their mothers might be brought before the Iudge face to face, and the matter throughly examined. The which matter at the length being manifestly proued false, this wicked accuser was constrayned to confesse that he was procured by Democharis the Inquisitor, and one of the chicke of the Senate, to forge these things. Howbeit, this slaunderous rumor did much harme, for it was noysed abroade, that all maner of wickednesse was committed by the Lutherans when they came togither. The same wherof being brought to the eares of the yong King, made him more cruell against the faithfull. And so persecution waxed hote and vehement againe, the Iudges Flyes (for so were the Inquisitors called) flying abrode in euery corner. Insomuch that for the space of nyne monethes the faithfull were cast in prison, banished, murthered, and their houses and goodes confiscate. Notwithstanding all these things, God preserued the remnant of his Church: and suffered not, for all this, the preaching of his worde to be taken away. Many therefore were then burned for the Gospels sake, whose cõstancie wan many to the same. And among the rest which suffered for the testimonie of the Gospell, there was one woman, called Margaret Riche, a booke sellers wife, of wonderfull constancie. This woman by the falshode & deceit of hir husband was betrayed into ẏ hands of the Iudges, who notwithstanding was the first that instructed hir in ẏ truth, & brought hir to know & reiect hir former errors. Annas Burgæus affirmed that he was much encouraged by ẏ constancy of this woman, which was kept in bonds when he liued.

Grieuous affliction.

Margaret Riche.

Thus, the Kingdome of the yong King Frances being gouerned as it pleased the Guises, who hauing gotten the superioritie, thought and deuised nowe howe to bring two things to passe, which seemed to be so necessary for thẽ, that without the obtaining of them, they could not get their purpose:

pose: the which two thinges were these, the extinguishing and taking away of the libertie of Fraunce, and the libertie of the Gospell. But while they went about to bring these things to passe, many complaintes of them, and libels that touched the practise of these things were cast abrode: namely, that ỹ Guises did not secretly go about to conspire against the kingdome: that they went about in the dayes of King Henrie, by subtil & vnlister meanes, to subuert and wast the Duchie of *Andegauensis* and the Countie of *Prouince*: that they oftentimes complained that the King had done them iniurie in this thing: that they went about to proue by learned men whō they had taken to search the Chronicles, that they came by true lineall discent of Carolus Magnus: that Hugo Capetus (of whom come the kings of *Vales* that now raigne) vsurped the kingdome: that they sayd that they hoped for a time to come at the length, when they should haue more cōuenient time to reason & iudge of this matter: And therfore that the Guises hauing practised these things in the dayes of Henrie ỹ King, had now greater hope in these days of the yong king, to bring their purpose to passe: that it was done against all the lawes of the Realme, that they shoulde arrogate to themselues the gouernement of the kingdome, seing the same pertained to the Princes which were the kings neare kinsmen, whom notwithstanding they had excluded frō that lawful dignitie appertaining to them: ỹ the kingdome could not be committed vnto them without great daunger, specially seing they contended for the same: that it wanted not great suspition, that they banished the auncient kinsfolks of the king frō the Court, to the intent they might do al things as thē listed: ỹ they did chaūge the gouernors of Prouinces and Cities, to the ende such might beare office as would be ruled by them: that it appeared by manye things that their gouernment was pernicious and hurtfull for the kingdome: as both by the freshe memorie of the late wicked acte done in the dayes of King Henrie, concerning that

notable viage to *Naples*, by which the one was minded to make himselfe Pope, and the other purposed to make himselfe King: and also by the sundrie practions with the which the people were oppressed, when they shoulde rather haue bene eased, considering the great warres and charge that they had bene at before, being charged with warre a freshe, carying the souldiers that were wearied in the former warres into Scotlande, and all vnder the pretence of religion. And here for examples sake, the dealings of those were brought in, who vnder the colour of custodie, protection, and wardship, had inuaded the kingdomes of *Orphanes*. These were the contents of those libels dispersed abrode, cõcluding also that it was no offence at all, but well done, with the sworde to resist the tirannie of the Guises.

While these things were published abrode, and on both sides writings of defence dispersed, manye rumors were brought from farre Countries to the Guises, but among the rest, this in especiall, namely, that manye had made a conspiracie to set vpon them euen in the Kinges house. The Guises therefore being moued with these writings and rumors, layde the cause of all these things to the Lutheranes charge, and went about to perswade the King that the Lutheranes disdaining to be so greatlye afflicted, had made a conspiracie to destroy him. And for the more safetie of the King, they caried him to Ambaxia, being a litle towne, and fortified with a Castell: appointing watch and warde to be in euery place through which the King should passe to Ambaxia, commaunding also to take so manye as they founde armed, or by any maner of meanes suspected. This done, the Kings power and authoritie was committed to Frances Duke of *Guise*, to supplie the Kings rome, for confirmation whereof, he receyued the Kings letters patentes. Notwithstanding all this, the Guises as yet were vncertaine of the reported conspiracie, as, from whence, after what maner, by what waye they woulde come, and who the conspirators were,

The description of the tumult of Ambaxia.

were, vntill the Cardinall of *Loraine* was plainly certified thereof by a certaine lawyer of *Paris*: to whome were giuen for his reward in reuealing this matter, ten thouſande French Crownes, out of the Kings treaſurie.

But nowe, what maner of conſpiracie or practiſe this was, ye ſhall heare: There were verie manye which diſdained and repined at the authoritie committed vnto the Guiſes, but ſpecially the Noble men, which toke it in euill part, that the libertie of Fraunce ſhoulde be defaced by the tirannie of ſtraungers. Againe, many of thoſe which were of the reformed Churches, being wearied with ſharpe and grieuous afflictions, and laying the burthen and blame of all theſe cruelties vpon the Guiſes, as the chiefe and principall enimies of religion, thought if they might be repreſſed and put downe, they ſhoulde finde the King more merciſull and readie to heare their petitions: and they ſhould defend their cauſe before the Magiſtrates, if they were therevnto lawfully called. Yea, the matter came ſo farre, that they thought they had iuſte cauſes to put downe the Guiſes, the which ſhoulde turne to the profite both of the King and countrie. And this counſell and practiſe was enterpriſed at *Nameta*, which is a towne in the lower *Britayne*, by certaine which came thither, vnder the colour of meeting togither at a mariage. The chiefe perſwaders and procurers of which matter, were Godfridus, Barreus, Renaudius, and Garreus, being Noble men. Whoſe determination and purpoſe was to compell the Guiſes to giue an account howe they had diſcharged their offices: and to remoue them from that dignitie, which (they ſayde) they had vſurped, and to place the Princes which were the Kinges neare kinſemen in the ſame. To bring the which thing to paſſe, they determined, if neede ſhoulde require, to take the ſworde in hande. And thus they concluded their purpoſe, the ſumme whereof was: That nothing ſhoulde be done againſt the King, againſt the Kings kinſemen, and againſt the

ſtate of the Realme: and that their dignitie, and the libertie of the countrie ſhoulde bee defended ſo much as might bee from the violence of ſtraungers. And to bring this thing to paſſe, Renaudius was choſen Captaine, to whome they ioyned fiue other, whoſe counſell he might vſe in any matter: and thirtie men alſo very ſkilfull in feates of armes, to attende vpon him in ſeruice of warre. The time and place alſo of meeting was appointed. And ſo euery man diligentlye went about the thing concluded: they prouided money and artillerie, and appointed ſouldiers.

Notwithſtanding, the manifolde rumors of their doings, and the exquiſite diligence of the Guiſes (or rather the prouidence of God which had a greater worke to finiſhe) bewrayed their counſels & deuiſes. At that time the Earle of Sanſſerrenſis was lieutenant of *Tyron*: who hearing that the Lord Caſtelnouan and certaine valiant captaines with him, abode there certaine dayes, came to them, & ſeing the Lord Caſtelnouan, whom he knew, very earneſtly inquired of the matter, but at the laſt they fell togither by the eares: Howbeit, they eſcaped, and fled to the caſtle called Nozeus, to the which, they had before determined to come: & there, by the induſtrie of Renaudius, were gathered togither the number of fiue hundred horſmen. But the Earle of Sanſſerreus went without delay to Ambaxia, & told there al the whole matter. Wherupõ captaine Nemoroſius was ſent to Nozeus with prepared ſouldiers, to take a view, & alſo to knowe their intent and meaning. Whither, when he was come, he deſired to talke with thẽ. The which being graunted, he demãded what cauſe they had ſo to deale, aſking alſo, if they by their diſloyall diſobedience woulde bring infamie & reproch to all their countrymen, who were wel knowne to be euer faithfull and true to their Kings. To this they anſwere by Barõ Caſtelnouan, that they ment nothing againſt ỳ Kings maieſtie, but were armed to defend the King, & the ſtate of the Realme, & intended to ſhew his Maieſtie the fraude and deceyte

coyte of the Guises, which they practise to destroy the King and the kingdome: and that they were therfore gathered together with a great companie of Nobles, to resist the tyrannie of the Guises, their manifest violence & oppression both of lawes and auncient institutions: Affirming also that they woulde retaine the name of faithfull subiectes in the middest of these troubles, whatsoeuer they were thought off. To this Nemorosius replyed, saying that it became not Subiectes to come vnto their Prince with weapons and armour. They on the contrarie part sayde: that they did not beare armour against their Prince, but against the Guises, his vndoubted enimies, who will suffer none of his subiectes to haue recourse vnto the King. And therfore they sayde they were armed, that they might haue accesse vnto the kings maiestie: to whome they knewe and woulde giue due honor and reuerence.

This cõmunication passing betwene them, Nemorosius at the last fel to intreating & beseching them, promising that if they would vpon trust yelde themselues into his hands, and go vnto the king without armor, they should sustain no harm. Who at ỹ length being perswaded, yelded thẽselues into his handes, counting it a great good turne, if so be they might haue frée accesse vnto the King, without the vse of weapons and armour. Notwithstanding, so sone as they were come to Ambaxia, they were cast into prison, & handled, euen as they had bene traytors to the kings Maiestie. The day following, the band of footmen, not knowing what had happened, went through the woods to Ambaxia, & being euery one of them inclosed and taken by an hoste of horsemen, were the same daye put to death, some being hanged, and some drowned in the riuer. The thirde day, the bande of horsemen (among whome came Renaudius) hauing trauailed all the night, by the conducting and skill of Champdeus, a Noble man, came by the breake of the daye, to the Castell gates of Ambaxia. But beynge betrayed,

they

they fled away, & were scattered here & there. And this was the ende of this enterprise, & thus it was stayed. They whō Nemorosius had persuaded to yelde, which were take, were diuersly put to death, some had their heades chopt off, some were hanged out of the Castell windowes, and some cast into the riuer. And among others that were taken, Castelnouanus was one, of whome we spake before, being a man of great fame, both for his birth, and also for his bringing vp. This man hearing himselfe to be pronounced giltie of treason against the Kings maiestie, cried out, that he was giltie in no respect of that crime, neyther that he coulde so be proued by any meanes.

This one thing he cōfessed to be true, that he went about to resist the tyrannie of the Guises, with a great number of the Nobilitie of Fraunce: if this were to offende the Kings maiestie (sayde he) they must be called Kings, before I and they can iustly be condemned of treason. And seing they might not haue libertie to appeale to mortall Iudges, he sayde that he appealed to the celestiall Iudge for so vniust iudgement giuen vpon him, the which ere it be long, will take vengeance on innocent bloude so vniustly shed. The like also many others affirming, and committing their innocencie to God, caused manye to lament their state with teares. And among the rest, one whose name was Villemongius, bathing his handes in the bloude of his fellowes which were newlye slayne, lifted vp his handes imbrued with bloude to heauen, crying: Lord this is the bloud of thy seruants: thou shalt take vengeance.

Villemongius

Nowe therefore these horrible slaughters, a man woulde thinke had bene sufficient to make Renaudius forsake his former purpose, but he notwithstanding continued in the same. Wherefore he went about to gather togither againe his men which were dispersed, as you haue heard euē nowe: the which while he assayed, he met with a horseman of hys enimies side, who shot of at Renaudius his dag, but missing him,

him, was at the last by Renaudius slayne. But Renaudius by a souldiour standing by, being the seruaunt of the horseman that was slaine, was also wounded to death with the shot of a Dagge: whome notwithstanding, before he died, Renaudius also manfully slue. But streight after by the grieuousnesse of the wounde he dyed. Whose deade carcas being brought to Ambaxia, was hanged vp with this title: RENAVDIVS captaine of Rebels, and Author of Sedition. After this, it was deuided or quartered into foure partes, and set vp in diuers places, and his heade set vpon a forke. A wonderfull and straunge thing it was, that so many men should come togither from all parts of the Realme, and yet be seene of none. But this was not the ende of this tumult. The Guises, against whome this conspiracie was made, made great search and inquiry for those that were suspected to be guiltie of this conspiracie. Moreouer, the King of *Nauarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* in this contention toke part against the Guises, as hereafter shall be declared. The Constable, at the commaundement of the King, went to the Senate of *Paris*, and there opened the whole matter concerning the tumulte of Ambaxia, commending the great diligence of the Guises in pacifying of the same: But bicause he sayde, that this conspiracie was made against those that were in chiefe authoritie about the King, the Guises toke the same in very euil part, who would haue had all men perswaded, that it was made for the destruction of the King and the whole Realme, that all good order being taken away, euery man might rule and gouerne as him lysted.

At this time, Oliuarius the Kinges high Chauncelour, who had condemned those that were taken in the tumult of Ambaxia, was grieuously taken with sickenesse: and being very extremely handled therewith, sayde that he had iustly deserued the same, for that those whome he had condemned, had great iniurie done vnto them. Moreouer, hee

made exclamation against ỹ cardinal of *Loraine*, (who hearing of his extreme sickneſſe, came to ſée him) ſaying: Thou (O Cardinall) art he that bringeth deſtruction to vs all: And ſo fetching déepe ſighes & grieuous grones, he ended his life.

Nowe there came forth a newe Edict very cruell against thoſe which followed the newe Religion, as they termed it. Notwithſtanding the late conſpiracie being founde to come through the cruell puniſhmentes layde vpon men, whereat they boldly repined, brought to paſſe that the Guiſes being afrayde, thought it beſt to temper and mittigate thoſe puniſhments. Therefore there were ſent abrode letters of pardon, in the which ỹ King declared that he would not in the firſt yere of his reigne begin with the miſerable ſlaughter of his ſubiects (although they had deſerued ỹ ſame) but wold rather folow ỹ example of our heauenly father, to retain his ſeruãts by his lenitie & mercie, than by ſeueritie and puniſhments. Therfore he ſayd he forgaue all offences concerning religion, and gaue generall pardon: notwithſtanding, vpon that condition that they which enioyed the benefite therof, ſhould liue catholikely as others did. Poreouer, the ſame that came by the conſpiracie, troubled alſo the Cardinall of *Loraine*, being a man by nature verye fearefull and wauering, inſomuch that now, after a ſort he ſhewed himſelfe very gentle toward the fauourers of the Goſpell: yea, and hearde willingly many of the Miniſters of Gods worde, which were not afeard to talke with him concerning the chiefe pointes of the Religion nowe in controuerſie, affirming alſo that he himſelfe did agrée with them in many points.

he Kings ters of par- on.

But the Quéene, to the ende ſhe might vnderſtande the true cauſes of the tumult of Ambaxian, and might ſée alſo what remedies might be had for thoſe troubles which were nowe readie to come vpon the kingdome, ſent for one called Planchæus, bicauſe he was ſayde to be a man that had by long vſe, great experience, who being come, and brought into

into hir priuie chamber, she declared that she had sent for him to this ende, that she might understande by him what were the causes of the troubles nowe at hande, and also what remedies might be prouided for the same. Of which, she sayde, no man coulde better satisfie hir than he. Who, when he coulde by no excuse shift off or denie this requeſt, at the last affirmed that for his obedience sake, he woulde take this thing vpon him, and so farre as he coulde satisfie hir requeſt. First, therefore he began thus, saying: there are two sortes of them, who hauing their names altered, were no more called Lutheranes, but Huguenotes. I saye of these, there are two factions: the one of religious persons, the other of Ciuile or politike persons. Of the whiche two factions, the first for their afflicted Religion, the other, for that the gouernement of the Realme was put into the handes of the Guises (the Princes, the Kings neare kinsemen beyng defrauded of the same) were greatlye displeased. These were the verye causes of these troubles: to remedie the which, there is no waye, but to satisfie both their wylles. The first, namely, the religious persons may easilye be perswaded, if so be, godly and learned men were gathered togither, and disputation made of those articles nowe in controuersie. But the others, which were of the Temporaltie, can not be so easilye pacified, bicause they thinke that they haue iuſt occasion to put themselues in armour, and to reſiſt. This therefore is the onely remedie, if the Princes the Kings neare kinsemen be kept and set in their owne proper degree and dignitye: and the Guises by some faire and gentle meanes remoued from gouerning the Kingdome. For the Nobilitie will not suffer the Princes which are the Kings neare kinsemen, to bee in leſſe estimation than Straungers. And although the Princes throughe their humanitie and great modeſtie woulde suffer themselues to bee so abaſed, yet notwithstanding, the Nobles woulde not beare

Spirituall Huguenotes. Temporall Huguenotes.

it, nor abyde the gouernement of Straungers. And to confirme this which he had spoken, he brought in manye examples, that the Guises being Straungers, were neyther in the number of Princes, nor at anye time so accounted: and that therefore it was not lawfull for the Guises, to arrogate vnto themselues the titles and authoritie of Princes, which onely appertained to the Kings bloude, as the auncient custome of the kingdome woulde declare. This (sayth he) to pacifie those of the temporaltie, whose doings were the more to bee feared, for that the greater part of the Nobilitie was of that side, sauing such as were wonne and procured alwaye by the Guises for the Kings money.

The names of Princes did not appertaine to the Guises, in the kingdome of Fráce

Thus Planchæus largely and frely vttered his mynde. But all the whyle that he had this talke with the Quéene, the Cardinall of *Loraine*, was hydde behinde the Tapistrie clothes that hong before the wall of the Closet. Who, when Planchæus had leaue of the Quéene to depart, came forth, and talking with the Quéene, appointed that Planchæus shoulde be called agayne, and commaunded to procéede in his former declaration, and to shewe who they were that were the authors and Captaynes of the late conspiracie: the which, except he woulde promise to doe, that he might be caried to prison. Therefore Planchæus being called againe, began to vtter his minde as frely as he had done before, shewing the parentage and stocke of the Guises, and also howe they were Straungers, and nothing appertaining to Fraunce: adding moreouer, that it was very euill done to commit the gouernement of the Realme to Straungers, and specially to such, as did contende ambitiously for the Kingdome, and thought it shoulde appertayne to them. The Quéene being offended with his boldnesse, and specially, séeing he affirmed that he knewe nothing of the conspiracie, commaunded that he should be caried to prison.

All

All which Planchæus spake, was euen as it were the voyces of the people speaking by the mouth of one man.

After this Michael Hospitall the Kings Chauncelour, after the death of Oliuarius, of whom we spake before, a man verye well learned and wyse, was sent to the Senate of *Paris*, to consult with them about many matters that belonged to the gouernement of the Realme, and among the rest, concerning the prouiding such remedies as might take away the tumults alredie begon. And thus afflictions waxed more easie than they were before: and remedies were prouided for so generall a mischiefe. But the fame and report of the increasing of the multitude of the faithfull dayly, was in euery place of the Realme: and, bicause great troubles seemed to be at hande, all men had regarde vnto them, more than to the report of the increase of the faithful, the most part endeuouring themselues to staye and pacifie these troubles. Afflictions after a sort ceale.

And at this time, this was the state of France: the Guises sent the same prouision of warre, with the which they withstoode the religion in Fraunce, into Scotland, ouer the sea, to the intent they might there deface and put downe the religion newly begon. For the Nobles of Scotland with a great multitude of the people beside, had cast off the Popes yoke from of their neckes, & had plucked downe their Images, their altars, and abolished the ceremonies of the Papisticall seruice: causing the Queene to get hir into a little towne by hir selfe, for that she was sore offended at that which they had done. Therefore lacking helpe, the Guises brought to passe to haue an hoste of men sent out of France, to the number of foure thousande. Of this bande of men, Brossæus was Generall, with whome was ioyned the Bishop of *Ambianensis*, to the ende, the one might fight with the sword, and the other with Papisticall power. Therfore they toke their iourney with these cõmandements, namely, that they should seuerely punish the Rebels, and the chiefe A description of the Scottes warre for Religion.

authors of sedition: and that they shoulde restore the wonted and vsuall obedience of the Pope.

Wherfore, so sone as they were come into Scotland, they made proclamation that euery one should go to Masse, & detest and forsake the new religion. The Bishop wrote vnto the King, that he woulde bring all the people within fewe dayes to the catholike faith. Brossæus wrote, that he woulde destroy all within fiue moneths which woulde not come to the auncient Religion. But it came otherwise to passe.

For after the death of Marie Queene of England, the Guises made claime and title to the Crowne of Englande, for their Neece the Queene of Scottes, as though she had bene the lawfull heire. Whereat the moste gracious Queene Elizabeth hauing great disdaine, sent worde to the King of Fraunce, of this great iniurie done to hir Grace by the Guises, and bideth battaile.

Nowe the Scottes to the ende they might abide the forren power of the Frenchmen, seeing also that they stode in neede of helpe and aide from some other place, went to the Queene of England, beseeching hir that although they were hir olde enimies, yet that she woulde vouchsafe to ayde them in so iust a cause of Religion, saying that they had rather to abide any extremitie, than the tyrannie of the Pope. To whom the Queenes maiestie willingly and gladly promised and graunted helpe. The Scottes therefore being encouraged by this ayde, did so withstande the French power, that they made great slaughter of the French men, and draue them to such a strayte, that except the matter had bene taken vp by peace, it shoulde seeme that they had bene all vtterly destroyed.

Peace therfore was concluded, and the reformed Religion there established. And so that tumult was turned to the peace and quietnesse of the Church, notwithstanding, the subtill practises and cruell threatnings of the aduersaries.

There were also at that time grieuous afflictions layde vpon

vpon the Church in another place. For in the townes of *Sixtus*, and *Guardia*, in the countrie of *Calabria*, there were manye, yea, to the number of a thousande, which by the Popes commaundement were put to death for Religions sake: and many horrible cruelties also committed, by the meanes of one Marchion Buciane. Calabria, a countrie ioyning to Naples.

In the Kingdome of Fraunce also in diuers places, as at *Paris*, and *Rhoane*, many of the faythfull were murthered, vpon the solemne feast daye of the Bishops deambulation. For the faithfull began more and more to assemble themselues togither: and exhibited vnto the King a little booke containing the confession of their faith, requiring to haue libertie graunted vnto them, to declare their cause. Wherfore, it shall not be disagreeing from our purpose, to put downe here the same their confession: to the ende we may therby see what a notable consent and agreement there was in the doctrine of faith, among the Churches of Fraunce, notwithstanding the boysterous tempestes of the first afflictions.

A Confession of the Fayth made by the Churches of Fraunce.

WE beleue and confesse one God, which is the only and simple spirituall essence, eternall, inuisible, immutable, infinite, incomprehensible, vnspeakable, omnipotent, onely wise, good, iust, and mercifull.

2 This onely God shewed himselfe to be such a one vnto men, first both in the creation of his workes, and also in the conseruation & gouerning of them: secondly, in his word, & that more euidently, the which worde in the beginning he reuealed vnto the fathers by certaine visions and oracles, and afterward would haue it to be written in those bookes, which we call the bookes of holy Scripture.

3 All

The Scripture.

3 All this holy Scripture is cõprehended in the Canonicall bookes of the olde and newe Testament, the catalogue of the which bookes, is this: First, the fiue bookes of Moses, namely, Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium: then Iosue, Iudges, Ruth, the two bookes of Samuel: the two bookes of Kings, the two bokes of Chronicles called Paralypomenon: the booke of Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, Iob, Psalmes, Prouerbs of Salomon, Ecclesiastes, otherwise called the Preacher, the booke of Cãticles, otherwise called the Ballets of Salomon: the Prophecie of Esaias, Ieremias with the lamentations, Ezechiel, Daniel: the twelue lesser Prophetes, namely, Oseas, Ioel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Micheas, Nahũ, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias: the holy Gospell of Iesu Christ, after Mathew, after Marke, after Luke, and after Iohn. The Actes of the Apostles: Paules Epistle to the Romanes, his two Epistles to the Corinthians, his Epistle to the Galathians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians: his two Epistles to the Thessalonians, both his Epistles to Timothie, his Epistle to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrues: Iames Epistle: both the Epistles of Peter, ỹ three Epistles of Iohn, the Epistle of Iude, and the Apocalyps, or Reuelation of Iohn.

4 These bokes we confesse to be Canonicall, that is to saye, the Rule and stay of our faith, the which we haue not onely by the common consent of the Church, but also much more by the testimonie and inwarde perswasion of the holy ghost: by the instinct and motion whereof we are taught to discerne them from other Ecclesiasticall bokes, the which, although they be profitable, yet notwithstanding, they are not such, that we should ground any article of our faith vpon them.

The worde.

5 We beleeue that the worde comprehended in these bokes, came from God alone, from whome onely it hath his authoritie, and not from men. And seeing this is the summe of all truth, containing whatsoeuer is requisite for

for the worship of God and our saluation, we saye that it is not meete, neither for men, nor yet for Angels to adde or detract any thing from the same word, or to alter any thing in the same. And herevpon it followeth, that neither antiquitie, nor customes, nor multitude, nor humane wisedome, nor Iudgements, nor Edicts, nor decrees, nor Counsels, nor Visions, nor Miracles, ought to be compared or set against that worde of God: but rather that all things oughte to be brought and examined according to the prescript rule therof. Wherfore also, thole three Symbols or Creedes, as the Apostles Crede, the Nicene Crede, and Athanasius Crede, are allowed of vs, bycause they are agreeing to that worde of God. The three Credes.

6 This holie Scripture teacheth vs, that in that singular and simple diuine essence, there are three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holye Ghoste. The Father is the firste cause in order, & the originall of all things. The Sonne is his wisedome, and eternall word. The holy Ghoste, is the vertue, power, and efficacie of them both. The sonne was begotten of the Father before all worldes. The holy Ghoste proceeded from the Father and the Sonne frō euerlasting. The which three persons are not confounded, but distinct, and yet for al that, not separated, but coessentiall, coeternal, and coequall togither. To conclude, in this mysterie we allow that which those foure ancient Councels did determine and do detest all those sectes and all others what soeuer cōdemned by those auncient holy Fathers, namely, by Athanasius, Hilarius, Cyrill, Ambrose, and others, by the worde of God. The Trinitie.

7 We beleeue that God, (the three persons working togither) by his power, wisdome, & incomprehensible goodnesse, made all things, that is to say, not onely heauē and earth, and all things in them contained, but also inuisible spirites, of which some fell to perpetuall destruction, and other some abode still in their obedience. The first, as they are by their

owne wickednesse depraued, so are they perpetuall enimies of all goodnesse, and therefore of the whole Churche. But the other beyng preserued by the mere grace of God, are Ministers of his glorye, and appoynted for the saluation of the elect.

8 We beleeue that God did not onely create all things, but also ruleth and gouerneth them, and disposeth also and ordereth at his pleasure whatsoeuer is in the worlde. Notwithstanding we denie him to be the author of euill or of those things that are done amisse in anye wyse to deserue blame, seing that his will is the chiefe and moste certayne marke and rule of righteousnesse and iustice. For he hath rather admirable than speakeable reasons, by which he so vseth all Diuels and sinfull men, as Instrumentes, that whatsoeuer they wickedly do, the same as he did iustlye ordaine, so also he tourneth it to good. Therefore when we confesse that nothing is done without his prouidence and ordynaunce, we do humblye adore the secrete mysteries that are hydden from vs, neither doe we curiously inquire and seeke after those things which are aboue our capacitie. But doe rather apply that to our vse and profite, which the Scripture teacheth for oure quietnesse and tranquilitie: Namely that God, to whome all things are subiecte, doth with fartherly carefulnesse watche for vs, in so muche that not one heare of our heade shall fall away without his wil. And as for Sathan and all oure enimyes, he hath them in such holde and bonds, that except they haue power ginē vnto them from him they can do nothing at all vnto vs.

9 We beleeue that man being created pure and perfecte and according to the Image of God, fell throughe his owne faulte from the grace which he had receyued, and therefore caste him selfe from God the welspring of all righteousnesse and goodnesse, in so muche that his nature is altogether corrupted, and his heart defiled, whereby he hath losse all his former integritie without exception. For although he

Man.

he hath some discretion of good and euill: notwithstanding we affirme that whatsoeuer light he hath in him, the same is tourned into darkenesse, when he seeketh after God, in so muche that no maner of way he can come vnto him, by his owne vnderstanding & reason. Moreouer, although he hath a will, by which he is named to doe this or that, notwithstanding, seing that the same is captiued & made subiect vnto sin, it hath no libertie at all to will or desire that which is good, but onely that which it receiueth by the grace & gift of God.

10 We beleue that all the progenie and offspring of Adam, is infected with this contagion, the which we call originall sinne, the which commeth by propagation and not of imitation, as the Pelagians haue thought, all whose errors we do detest & abhorre. Neither do we thinke it necessarie to enquire how this sinne may come from one to another by propagation. For it is sufficient to know that whatsoeuer God hath giuen to Adam, was not giuen to him alone but to all his posteritie: and therefore we in his person are spoyled and bereft of all those benefites, and are fallen into all this miserie and malediction. Originall sin.

11 We beleue that this deprauatiõ or corruptiõ is very sin, & maketh al men, yea ẏ very infants as yet in ẏ wombes of their mothers, to be giltie of euerlasting death before God. We do also affirme that the same, after Baptisme is ministred, is very sin, in respect of fault, howbeit they which are ẏ children of God shal not be cõdẽned therfore, bicause God of his frée mercy & goodnesse doth not impute the same vnto thẽ. Furthermore we say that this euil doth alwayes shew forth some fruits of wickednesse & rebellion, in so much that they which are the most holy, although they doe resist the same, yet neuertheless so long as they liue in this worlde they are defiled with infirmities and offences.

12 We do beleue also, that out of this corruption & vniuersal dãnatiõ, into the which al mẽ by nature are cast & drowned, God hath takẽ some, namely such, whõ he hath elected Election.

and chosen by his eternall purpose and euerlasting counsel, of his owne mercy & goodnesse in his sonne Christ, without any respect of their merites. And othersome he hath left in that corruption and damnation, in iustlye condemning of whome, when time commeth he will shewe his iustice, euen as he declareth the riches of his mercye vpon others. For some are not better than other some, vntill God make the one to be knowne from the other, by that his euerlasting purpose, which he determined in Iesus Christ, before the foundation of the world: neyther can any man by his owne strength attaine vnto that blessednesse, since that by nature we haue no good motion, neither are we able to thinke a good thought, vntill God by grace assist vs and guideth vs vnto that which is right and good.

Christ. 13 We beleeue that whatsoeuer is requisite and necessarie for our saluation, it is offered & giuen to vs in Iesus Christ alone, who is giuen to vs to saue vs, and is also made vnto vs or for vs, wisedome, righteousnesse, sanctification and redemption, in so much that whosoeuer forsaketh him, forsaketh the mercie of the Father, that is to saye, our onely refuge.

God and man. 14 We beleeue that Iesus Christ, the wisedome, and euerlasting sonne of the Father, toke vpon him our nature, in so much that in one person, he is both God and man: a man, passible both in body and soule, and in all things like vnto vs, sinne onely excepted, whose flesshe is very seede of Abraham and Dauid, although by the secrete and incomprehensible power of the holy Ghost, he was in his time conceiued in the wombe of the virgin Mary. And therefore we detest and forsake all those heresies with the which the Churches in time past haue beene troubled, as most contrarie to the truth, and namely those diuelish Imaginations of Seruetus attributing to our Lorde Iesus Christ, a phantasticall deitie and such like.

15 We do beleue that in one person, which is Iesus Christ, those

those two natures are so truelye and inseparably conioy- Two natures
ned, that they are vnited together in one, and yet both of the in Christ.
retaine still the distincte properties of their natures, in so much that as in this coniunctiō, the diuine nature of ỹ word retaining his properties, abode vncreate, infinit, and replenishing all things: euen so also the humane nature abode & shall abide for euer comprehensible, hauing his naturall forme, measure, and propertie, from whom the resurrectiō, and glorification, or assumption to the right hand of the father shall not take away the veritie of his humane nature. Therefore we so consider of Christ in his Deity, that we spoile him not of his humanitie.

16 We beleue that God hath shewed his vnspeakable loue The death of
and goodnesse toward vs in this that he hath sent his sonne Christ.
to dye and to rise againe and to fulfill al righteousnesse, that he might purchase for vs euerlasting life.

17 We beleue that by that only sacrifice which Iesus christ The Sacrifice
offered vpon the Crosse, we are reconciled vnto God, and of Christ.
are counted iust in his sight, bicause we cannot be acceptable vnto him, neither obtaine the fruite of our adoption, excepte we haue forgiuenesse of sinnes at his handes. Therfore we affirme that Iesus Christ is our full and perfecte redēmer, in whose death we haue full satisfaction, by which we are deliuered from all our sinnes, and from the which we can be absolued by no other meanes.

18 We beleue that all oure righteousnesse is placed in the Remission of
remission of our sinnes, the which, as the Prophete Dauid Sinnes.
testifieth, is our onely felicitie. Therefore we reiect openly all other waies and meanes by which men thinke that they maye be iustified before God: and laying aside all trust of our owne merites and righteousnesse, we rest and stay our selues wholy vpon the obedience of Iesus Christ the which is imputed vnto vs both that all our sinnes may be thereby couered, and also that we may attaine grace in the sight of God. To be shorte, we beleue that if we decline neuer so

little from this foundation, we can not finde where to rest, but shal be rather alwayes vnquiet, because we cã not haue peace with God, vntill we are certainely perswaded of this that we are loued in Iesus Christ, because in our selues we are worthy of all hate.

19 We doe beleeue that by this onely meanes we haue libertye to call vpon God, with certayne truste that he will declare him selfe to bee our Father. For we haue no accesse vnto the Father, but by the meanes of the mediator.

Faith. 20 We do beleue ỹ we are made partakers of this righteousnesse by faithe onely, as it is written that he suffered to saue vs, that whosoeuer shal beleue in him might not perish. And it is thus appointed to this ende, because the promises of life offered to vs in him, are then applyed to our vse and profite, and are made effectual to vs, when we imbrace thẽ, nothing doubting of the hauing of those things of the which we are certified by Gods owne mouth. Therefore the righteousnesse which we obtaine by faith dependeth vpon the frée promises, by which God testifieth and declareth that we are beloued of him.

The grace of the holy goſt. 21 We beleue that we are endued with the light of faith, by the secrete grace and working of the holy ghost, ỹ which faith is the frée gift of God, ỹ proper to them alone to whom it pleaseth God to giue the same: that the faithfull might haue nothing in them selues to boast of, whẽ as rather they are two folde more bound to God than others, in that they are preferred before others. Also we beleue that faith is giuen to the elect, not that they should once onely walke in the right way, but rather to cõtinue in the same al the dayes of their lyfe: because as the beginning is of God, so is also the ende.

Newnesse of lyfe. 22 We beleue that we which are by nature the seruants of sinne, by the same faith are regenerate into a new life. For by faith we receiue grace to lyue a holy and godly lyfe, whẽ we

we imbrace that Euangelicall promise, that the Lords will giue vnto vs the holy Ghost. Therfore faith is so far from taking away the desire to leade a godly life, that it doth rather inflame the same in vs, from whence good workes necessarily do follow. But, although God doth regenerate vs to the ende he might fully saue vs, notwithstanding we affirme that the good workes which we do by the assistance of Gods holy spirite, are not so regarded of God, that we should be iustified by them, or deserue to be counted the sonnes of God, bicause we shoulde alwayes doubte and feare if so be that we had not that satisfactiō, by which Christ Iesus hath deliuered vs from all harme. Good works.

23 We beleue that all the figures of the law are taken away by the comming of Christ, although we know that the truth and substaunce of them remaine in him in whō they were fulfilled. Howbeit we muste vse and exercise the Law and the Prophets, both for the framing of our life, and also that we may be the more confirmed in the promises of the Gospell. The figures of the law. The doctrine of the law.

24 We beleue that seing Iesus Christ is giuen to vs to be our onely aduocate who also commaundeth that we should boldly come to the Father in his name, and seing it is not lawfull for vs to pray in any other order and forme than in that which God him selfe hath appointed in his word, what soeuer men haue deuised concerning the intercessiō of dead Saintes, it is nothing else but the deceite and crafte of Sathan, to drawe men from the right and true forme of prayer. We doe also reiect all those meanes whatsoeuer, that men haue inuented to delyuer them selues from the wrath of God, for so muche as they doe derogate so much from the death and sacrifyce of Iesus Christ as men gyue and attribute vnto them. One onely aduocate. Intercession of saintes.

To cōclude, we thinke that Purgatory is a fable, brought forth of ỹ same shop, frō whēce also came Monastical vowes, pilgrimages, prohibitiō of Matrimonie, & the vse of meates, Purgatory.

the

the ceremoniall obseruation of certaine dayes, Auricular confession, Indulgences, and suche like abhominations, by which, some thinke, that they merit grace and saluation. All which things we do reiecte, not onely for the false opinion conceyued of meriting adioyned vnto them, but also bicause they be the inuentions of men, and a yoake layde vpon consciences by the authoritie of men.

Ecclesiasticall discipline.

25 We beleeue, bicause we can not obtaine Christ, but by the Gospell, that the holy and inuiolable discipline established by his authoritie in the Churche ought to be obserued: and that therefore Pastours ought to be in the Church, to whom appertaineth the office of preaching the worde, and the ministration of the Sacramentes, whom men ought to honor and reuerently heare, if they beyng lawfully called discharge their dutie: not that God of necessitie needeth such inferior helpes, but rather bycause it thus seemeth good vnto him to rule vs, as it were with a bridle. And therfore we do detest all those fanaticall persons, which so muche as in them lyeth seeke to abolishe the holy ministerye, that is to say, the preaching of the worde, and the administration of Sacraments.

The vnitie of the Church.

26 We beleeue therefore that it is lawfull for no man to withdrawe himselfe from the Congregation, and to trust in himselfe: but is rather the duetie of all men to defende and keepe the Unitie of the Churche, submitting themselues to the common Institution and yoake of Christe wheresoeuer God hath appointed the true and Ecclesiasticall discipline, although the Edictes of Magistrates be against the same: from the which order, whosoeuer separate themselues, they resist the ordinance of God.

What the Church is.

27 We beleeue that with great diligence and discretion the true Church must be discerned, by the name whereof many are too much abused. Therfore we affirme out of the worde of God, that the Churche is a company or congregation of the faithfull, which do agree in following the word of God, and

and in imbracing true Religion, in the which also they dayly profite and go forward, grounding and confirming one another in the feare of God, who although they receiue neuer so great profite, yet must they daylie of necessitie seeke for remission of sinnes. And yet for all this will not denie but that manye hipocrites and reprobates are mixed with the faithfull, but yet their wickednesse can not take awaye the name the Church.

28 Therfore in beleeuing of this thing, we also openly affirme that where the worde of God is not receiued, nor no profession of that obedience shewed that belongeth therunto, nor no vse of the Sacraments, there (to speake properly) we can Iudge no Church to be. We therfore condemne the Papisticall Church bicause the pure truth of God is banished out of the same, in the which the Sacramentes of faith are corrupted, falsified, or else quite abolished: in the which all superstition & Idolatry is to be founde. And therfore we thinke that all they which do ioyne themselues to such actions and do communicate with them, doe separate them selues from the body of Christ. Notwithstanding bicause in the Papacy remaineth some Imitacion of the true church, and specially the substance of Baptisme, the efficacie wherof dependeth not vpon him that ministreth the same, we graunt that they which are baptized in the same Popishe Church, haue no neede to be baptized againe: howbeit, bycause of the corruptions with the which Baptime is there mixed, no man can offer his childe to be of them baptized but he must pollute him selfe. The Papacy.

29 We do beleeue that the true Churche oughte to be gouerned with that discipline, which our Lorde Iesus Christ appointed, and to haue in the same, Pastors, Ministers, and Deacons, that the pure doctrine of the Gospell may be preached, vice bridled, and poore & afflicted persons (so far as neede shall require) comforted. Discipline of the Church.

30 We do beleeue that all true Pastors, whersoeuer they

be placed, haue power and authoritie all a like, vnder that onely head, and chiefe vniuersall Bishop Iesus Christ: And therfore that it is lawfull for no Church to chalenge vnto it selfe imperie or rule ouer another.

31 We do beleue that it is vnlawfull for anye man of his owne authoritie to presume to take vpon him the gouernment of the Church, but ought rather to be chosē to the same by lawfull election, if so be the same may be had. We adde this (*if*) bicause sometime (as in oure time also) when the Church hath bene troubled and persecuted, many haue bēn constrayned without ordinarie callyng, by the motion of Gods holye spirite, to take vpon them to repaire the ruinousnesse of the decayed Church: notwithstanding howsoeuer the matter be, we doe beleeue that this rule ought to be followed, that all pastors and ministers maye haue sufficient testimonie of their calling.

The lawful election of ministers.

32 We doe beleeue it to be necessarie that they which are chosen to be the chiefe ouerseers of some one Churche, doe diligently waye and consider among them selues, by what waye or meanes, the whole body of the same Churche may be best gouerned. Notwithstanding so that they swerue in no poynt from that which our Lorde Iesus Christ hath appointed. And this letteth not but that certaine places maye haue their peculiar and speciall institutions to them appertaining as it shall seeme best.

33 And we doe exclude all humane inuentions and lawes whiche vnder the pretence of the worshippe of God doe bynde the consciences of men, and we doe onely admit and alow those which tend to the maintaining of concord, & the keping of euerye one in due obedience, in the which thing we thinke it meete, to follow that which our Lorde & saviour Christ appointed, concerning excommunication, the which with the circumstances also we allow & thinke necessarye.

Excommunication.

34 We doe beleeue that there are Sacramentes ioyned to the worde, for further confirmations sake, as pledges and seales

seales of the grace of God, by which our infyrme and weake faith may be stayed and holpen. For we confesse these externall signes to be such, that God by them worketh, with the power of his holy spirit, that nothing there might be set before vs in vaine. Notwithstãding we doe thinke that al ỹ substance & veritie of them resteth in Christ Iesu, frõ whõ if they be separated, they are nothing but vayne shadowes. Sacraments.

35 We doe confesse that there belong onely two Sacramentes to the whole Church, of the which the first is Baptisme, giuen vnto vs to testifie our adoption, bycause thereby we are grafted into the body of Christ, as beyng washed with his bloud, and are also renewed to holynesse of life, by his spirite. This also we affirme, that although we are but once baptized, yet notwithstanding the fruite of Baptisme doth appertaine to the race of our whole life, to the ende that this promise mighte be sealed in vs by a sure and certaine seale, namely, that Christ will be alway our sanctification, righteousnesse, and redemption. Furthermore, althoughe Baptisme be a Sacramente of fayth and repentaunce, yet notwithstanding seyng God doth recken and accounte the children wyth the parentes to be of his Church, we affirme that infantes borne of holy and godly parents, ought, by the authoritie of Christ to be baptized. Baptisme.

36 We affirme that the holy Supper of the Lord, which is the other Sacrament, is a testimony vnto vs of our vnion with our Lorde Iesus Christ, bicause he did not thinke it sufficient for vs, onely to dye, and to be raysed agayne the third day, for our sinnes, but also feedeth vs still, and nourisheth vs with his flesche and bloude, that being made one with him, we maye be partakers of life with him. For although he be now in heauen, and shall abide there vntill he come to iudge the worlde, yet notwithstanding we beleue that he doth by the secrete and incomprehensible power of his spirite nourysshe and quicken vs wyth the substance of hys flesche and bloude, apprehended by fayth. The Lords Supper.

And we saye that this is done spiritually, not that we go about to put fantasie and imagination in steade of efficacie and veritie, but bicause this misterie of our vnion, and knot made betwene Christ and vs, is sodaine and far passe our reache, that by no meanes we are able to comprehende it. To be shorte, seeing it is a thing so diuine and heauenly, it can not be by any meanes apprehended but by faith onely.

37 We beleeue (as it is saide before) that the Lord as well in the Supper as in Baptisme, doth giue vnto vs in verye deede, that is to saye, truely and effectually, whatsoeuer is therin figured Sacramentally, and therfore we ioyne with signes the true possession and fruition of that thing, which is so offered vnto vs. Therfore we affirme that they which bring a pure fayth as a vessell, with them, to the holy table of the Lorde, doe verily receiue that which the signes doe there testifie: for the body and bloude of Jesus Christ is no lesse meate and drinke to the soule, than bread and wine is the sustenance of the body.

38 In like maner we saye that the element of water, although it be corruptible doth truely testifie vnto vs the inward washing of our soule in the bloude of Jesus Christ by the efficacie of the holy Ghost. And therefore we reiecte all those fanaticall persons, which reiect these outward signes, when as our Sauiour Christ him selfe spake these wordes saying: This is my Body, and, This Cup is my Bloud.

39 We beleeue that it is Gods will that the world shoulde be ruled and gouerned, by lawes and politique gouernement, that there may be some meanes by which the immoderate desires of the worlde may be bridled and restrained: and that therefore he hath appointed kingdomes, common weales, and other kindes of dignities, whither they come by inheritance or otherwise: and not onely that, but whatsoeuer pertaineth to right and equitie, the author whereof he himselfe woulde be counted. Therefore also he hath put the swerde into the hands of Magistrates, to punishe offen-

Magistrates.

ders

ces not onely against the seconde table, but also against the first. Wherefore we must for his sake which is the author of this order, not onely suffer that they may rule whome he hath set ouer vs, but also honour and reuerence them as his Ministers appointed by him to take that lawfull and holy office vpon them.

Therefore we affirme that lawes and statutes ought to be obeyed, tribute and taxes payed, and all other burthens discharged, and voluntary subiection yelded to magistrates, yea although they be infidels, so that God be not dishonored. Therefore we detest all those that denie rule and gouernment and refuse to obey, desiring a confusion and to haue all things common, and going about to ouerthrow all lawe and good order. This therefore was the plaine and simple confession of the faythfull Christians of the reformed Churches of *Fraunce*, and a plaine explication of that Doctrine for the which they were so greatly persecuted by the Popishe Bishops.

(∴)

Thus endeth this first Book.

¶ The seconde Booke of Commentaries of the state of Religion in the kingdome of Fraunce.

IT was prouided and appointed (as we haue shewed before) by the kings Edict, that there should be a Parliament, by which, the great perturbations which at that time all men sawe to be imminent and readye to fall on the kingdome, might be appeased and mittigated. Wherefore at the daye appointed, diuers of the kings priuie counsel & other noble men came togither. The which assembly being made, the King declared the cause of their comming togither at that time, and commaũded that euery man should frely declare his mind both for his owne profite, and for the benefite of the kingdome also. The rest (he said) they should heare more at large of his Chauncelour, of the Duke of Guise, and of the Cardinall of Lozaine. Then the Chauncelour stode vp & made a large discourse concerning the state of the kingdome, shewing that all men ought most chiefely to endeuour them selues to finde out the causes of so great perill & mischiefe as the whole Realme now stode in, the causes wherof being knowne, the remedyes might be the more easily prouided for. And, to this end and purpose he said, this assembly was made, namely, to finde out the causes of this mischiefe, & to prouide remedyes for the same. Adding moreouer that all things were done for the safetie of the people, for whom the King had most deepe and especiall care. And after hym the Duke of Guise briefly shewed the cause of his gathering togeather of an Armie.

These things onely were done that daye: the next daye those

those which before were assembled, came together againe into the same place. And then the Chauncelor declared that it was the kings pleasure that euerye man shoulde frælye vtter his minde, but firste of all they of the priuie counsell, that by their example and beginning the reste might more boldely and chærefully goe forwarde. Then Ianus Monlucius, Bishop of *Valentia*, the last cõseller being commaunded first of all to vtter his minde: Gaiper Caſtillon the Admirall strait way stepte vp, came to the king, and when he had reuerently saluted him, he deliuereed vnto hym two supplications, written in their name, which called themselues, The faithfull Christians dispersed through diuers places of Fraunce. Both the whiche supplications at the kyngs commaundement were read, the summe and effecte whereof was: that they had good occasiõ offered them by this their assemblye to offer their supplications and their humble requestes to the king, praying and beseeching him that he woulde haue regarde to the greatest parte of his subiectes, who were euill intreated euen vntill that present time, and that for this cause onelye: for that they myndedto frame their lyues according to the prescript rule of the pure word of God. Affyrming also that they soughte for nothing else than to haue their doctrine examyned by the same rule of Gods worde, and that their cause might throughly be wayed and considered: that all men mighte knowe for certaine howe greatly they did hate and abhorre those seditious and heretical opinions with the which hitherto they were falsely burthened. Seyng they were thus euill intreated and oppressed, they flæ vnto his maiestie for succour, beseching him that he would not disdaine but vouchsafe to behold and way their cause, & in the meane time ỳ it would please him to omit the punishments, by which their blod had bẽ shed in euery part of the kingdome, by the wickednesse & crueltie of many of the Iudges: who hauyng no regard to the peace and welfare of the Subiectes, but seeking rather to satisfie

The supplications of the faithfull deliuered by the Admiral to the King.

tisse their owne fantasie, lust, and desire, had shed the blod of poore men vndeseruedly and most vniustly, & had brought to passe to make a stay, that their requests and supplicatiõs might at no time come to the kings eares. Wherefore they humbly beseeche his grace that he would maintaine and defende his poore subiects against the wicked crueltie of these men: for which cause, they acknowledge him to be their King, and will render vnto him, according to Gods commaundement, all due and seruisable obedience: and doe commit them selues wholy with all theirs, vnder his patrociny and safegarde, and also doe account him, their bulwarke, refuge and staye. Protesting before God and hys Maiestie, that they neuer intended any thing against hym, or to omit that loyall duetie and obedience, which they owe vnto him, for whose prosperitie, they daylie make their prayers vnto God. Adding moreouer that they sought for no euill libertie, or to haue sinne vnpunished: but rather that they might haue libertie to liue so neere as they coulde, according to the Gospell which they professed: and that in this thing they might not feare the iudgemẽts of their chiefest aduersaries. Againe therefore they beseech and praye his Maiestie that it would please him to graunt them leaue to heare the worde of God, and to receiue his Sacraments, vntill the matter were more fully wayed and considered of the Counsell: and that to this end and vse, they might haue Churches graunted vnto them, least their congregation or assembly being priuate and secrete, might come into false and euill suspicion.

This libell being red, the Admiral desired the King that he would take it in good part, bringing in diuers testimonies of his faithfulnesse towardes the kings Maiestie: As, when he was in *Normandy* to prouide things necessarye for the Scottishe warre, and was appoynted by the Quẽnes commaundement diligently to inquire out the dealings and behauiour of those which were called Faithfull, and perceiuing that

that they rendred certaine reasons of their doings, he promised vnto them to offer their supplications vnto the Kings maiestie. To this the King answered, that he had diuers good and notable testimonies of him, and of his deserts, and also that he did take all things that he had done in very good part. And then the King commaunded againe the Bishop of *Valentia* to speake his iudgement. Who in effect vttered this which followeth.

DIOCLESIAN was wont to say, that the state and condition of those Princes was miserable, which were often deceyued by those, in whome onely they reposed their trust: bicause they forsaking the gouernement of the common wealth, and being as it were, drowned in their pleasures, might so be easily deceyued. The which hath not happened vnto the King, forasmuch as there was diligent prouision made against those perilles by the prudent wisedome of the Mother, and by the diligence and care of the Guises, by which it was brought to passe, that the tumultes already raised were suppressed. The which being appeased, the King did wisely foresee howe to prouide for the like to come, and that for this cause he had caused this assembly to be made, in the which there were so many good men that sought the Kings quietnesse and profite, that it could not be but that his Maiesties desires should be satisfied in euery point: for so great is the confusion and trouble in euery place of the Realme, that it could not be more expressely described by the Prophete Esay, to be the dissipation of all things, of all orders and gouernement, than it is. The doctrine which hath so drawne away the mindes of men, was not sowne lately, as it were, two yeares ago, but for the space of fortie yeares since, or thereabouts, by many Pinillets of the same doctrine, being men very expert in the knowledge of holy Scripture: who, by their great modestie, grauitie and godlynesse, hating all vice, and specially couetousnesse, and contemning their owne life for the con-

The sentence of the Bishop of Valentia.

seruation of their doctrine, and hauing alwayes in their mouth that moste sweete name Christ Iesus, finding also the people going astray without a shepeheard or guyde, were easily heard, and receyued, and brought great increase to their doctrine: and no marueyle, seeing they left nothing vndone, that might be done eyther by preaching, by writing, or by any other meanes, to publish and spreade the same abrode. But to come vnto those vsurped meanes and wayes which were attempted to hynder and suppresse that doctrine: if we shall begin first of all with the Bishops of Rome, we shall find that they haue very diligently gone about to sowe discord, and to make warre betweene Kings and Princes. But our Kings, moued with godly zeale, haue appoynted paynes and punishmentes by Edictes, thinking by that meanes to driue awaye those opinions, and to bring the people to one onely kinde of Religion: but in vaine. For the Iudges, both greatlye abused those Edictes, and also oftentymes executed them after their owne euill disposition and pleasure, to gratifie those which craued the confiscation and spoyle of their goodes which were accused.

Bishops of Rome.

Of this matter we haue a manifest example shewed not long ago, of a man of no meane calling, which desired to haue the confiscation and spoyle of one which was accused of heresie, whose iudgement he toke vpon him to order and appoint. If any Magistrate, Counseller, or Lawyer, had bene an euill or wicked person, to the intent he myght hide his former faultes and wickednesse, his maner was, by and by to seeke that these causes of Religion might be brought before him, and that he might be put in office and authoritie to deale in these causes: the which authoritie when he had rashly abused, vnder the colour of zeale, he shoulde streight way haue a name, and all that he had done before, shoulde be forgotten and forgiuen: as though that Religion ought to be defended by these supportations. So

Lawyers.

that

that it ought not to seeme straunge vnto vs, that these exe-
cutions haue no better successe, and also if the people cannot
abyde and suffer such wicked and cruell practises. On the o- Bishops.
ther side, the Bishops haue bene slouthfull and negligent,
and haue had no consideration and care, to giue an account
of their flockes committed to their charge: but haue rather
sought all that they coulde to maintaine and encrease their
yerely reuenewes, which they consumed vpon filthy, vaine,
& vnprofitable things: insomuch that at one time forty Bi-
shops togither were at *Paris*, banquetting, & satisfying their
filthy pleasures, and liuing ydly, while al disorder and wic-
kednesse increased in their Dioceses. Moreouer, we know
that Bishoprickes, or the office of a Bishop, hath bene be-
stowed vpon children, vpon Infantes, yea, before they
were borne, vpon vnlearned and simple men also, which
neyther knewe howe, nor woulde discharge their office.
And thus the eyes of the Churches, that is to saye, the
Bishops, were blynded, and the pyllers of the Church
cast downe to the grounde. The Ministers therefore of
this and that sect, vsing the occasion of these perturbati-
ons and troubles, haue omitted nothing to winne the peo-
ple vnto them. And as for Curates, they are couetous, Curates.
vnlearned, and conuersant in all things sauing in doing
of their dutie: and as the most part of them haue gotten
their Priesthode by wicked meanes, so doe they most vn-
godlily retaine the same still: for Cardinals and Bishops
let not to make their seruaunts, their Cookes, and horsekee-
pers, Priestes, whereby Ecclesiasticall persons, are be-
come a ieast and laughing stocke to euery man. But the
onely meane and waye to prouyde for, and to remedie these
mischieues, is to flee vnto God, who in his iust iudge-
ment is wroth with Ecclesiasticall persons, insomuch that
he seemeth to intende their destruction, as he did once
the destruction of the Iewes. Also, certayne godlye men
must be sought for, and called togither from all partes

of the Realme, to consider of these and the lyke wickednesses, and to deuise meanes and wayes to extirpe and roote them out: and the King for his part must see with all diligence that the name of God be not polluted and blaspheamed, as it hath bene hitherto: and that the holy Scriptures may be purely and plainly expounded to the people: and also that they may haue daily in their houses godly sermons, and exhortations: the which shall be able to stop the mouths of slaunderous persons, which shamefully sayde, that God was not once named or spoken of in the presence of the King.

He speaketh to Quenes, namely to the Kings mother and the Kings wife.

And you (sayth he) O Quénes, graunt me this one thing, I beseech you (if I maye be bolde to beseech you) that you woulde bring to passe, that in steade of prophane and vnsemely songs, all your traine and retinue maye sing godlye and vertuous Psalmes to the prayse of God: Knowe ye for a suretie, that God doth allowe or like of no companie or congregation, in the which he is not praysed and extolled. To this he added much more, by which he proued, that it was against reason, that the singing of Psalmes shoulde be forbidden, if the interpretation of them, which was noted about them, were not allowed, he sayde, it was better that the errors were noted, than that the whole worke shoulde be so reiected. And he shewed also that the Psalmes were made, not only for the publike vse of Churches, but also to be daily and priuately vsed. And therfore in forbidding the singing of Psalmes, there is iust occasion offered to seditious persons to calumniate and speake euill: For nowe in this we striue not against men, but against God, whose prayses are so hindered and let. The seconde remedie is a generall Councell, the which the Fathers alwayes vsed as a remedie to pacifie and appease the dissentions of the Church. I see not howe the Popes conscience can be quiet, nor to be in rest the space of one houre, seing he seeth so many soules to perishe through the diuersitie of opinions, and

The singing of Psalmes.

The seconde remedie to appease troubles.

yet

yet for all that seketh no meanes how to remedie the same. But if it shoulde come to passe, that the Generall Councell shoulde be let or hindered, then the King shall doe his dutie in calling a Councell of his owne Nation, after the ensample of his auncetors, the Kings of this Realme, as of Carolus Magnus, and Lodowicke his sonne. Nowe, they must be called to be of this Councell, which are counted to be the best learned men among them of that sect: and learned men of the contrarie part also, that they maye dispute togither of the principall groundes of Religion nowe in controuersie. Thus did Theodotius the Emperour at *Constantinople*, against the Arrians and Macedonians, although they were iustly condemned by the Councell of *Nice* and others: and afterwardes the Emperour woulde haue the actes of the Councell handled before him, to be openlye publyshed abroade.

The example of the kings, Carolus Magnus and Lodowicke.

But concerning the paines and punishments which were hitherto appointed, this (he sayde) was his opinion and iudgement: That doctrine, for the which, all this trouble ariseth, is of diuers men, diuerslye receyued. Some, so sone as they hearde of the same perfecte and approued doctrine, and had in no poynt imbraced & receyued the same, thought it sufficient to knowe this one thing, namely, that no man ought to heare Masse: and that it was lawfull to eate flesh in Lent: that men were not bounde to Auricular confession: and that it was lawfull to speake euill of Priestes. These men vndiscretely went about to defend that doctrine by force of armes: but to be short, these men vnder the pretence of Religion, were mere seditious, and are by no meanes to be excused. For if these kinde of men were Christians, or by any maner of meanes true receyuers of the Gospell, they ought to remember, that the Apostle commaunded to praye for Kings, and to render all obedience vnto them, yea, though they were cruell and wicked: also they ought to call to minde, that neuer in the Church, specially

The Gospell of diuers men diuerslye receyued.

in the time of the twelue great persecutions, in the which an infinite number of Christians were put to death, there was any one man founde, which went about to defend his cause by force of armes: but rather ouercame the cruelties of their Emperours, with their patience. Another sort of men there are also, which imbrace this doctrine, and retain the same, with such zeale, loue, and obedience towardes God and the King, that they woulde in nothing offende them. By the life and death of these men, it is manifest, that they haue a desire to attayne saluation, and to finde the way that leadeth to the same: and when they haue founde that way, they neither feare losse of lyfe and goods, nor any maner of punishment, but to ỳ vtmost of their power prosecute that way. Wherfore, they are not to be counted among the number of those wicked professors before spoken off, nor to be numbred in the companie of seditious persons. As yet we see it playne inough that those punishmentes which haue bene deuised, haue done no good: but on the contrarie part, their patience which they manifestly shewed in the middest of the fierie flames, hath stirred vp many to haue a liking, and to fauour their cause. Herevpon it came to passe, that they which neuer hearde of the same doctrine for the which they suffer, were desirous to vnderstande what doctrine it was, and at the length hauing intelligence of the same, they did receiue it with no lesse affection & zeale, than others had done, being ready by the ensample of others, to suffer death for it. Therfore set before your eyes and consider the examples of the three hundred and eightene Bishoppes, in the first Councell of *Nice*: of the. 150. in the Councell of *Constantinople*: of the 200. in the Councell of *Ephesus*: and of the 630. in the Councell of *Chalcedon*: who neuer vsed any other armour than the worde of God, against the Arrians, Macedonians, Nestorians, and other heretikes, conuicted of blasphemie against the holy Trinitie.

With what weapons in time past the Bishops resisted heretikes.

Constantinus, Valentinian, Theodosius, Martian, being Christi-

Christian and godly Emperours, did vse no greater punishment against the authors of sects, than banishment. And, as touching assemblies and multitudes gathered togither, they were always forbidden, for the daūger that seemed therof to arise: ꝑ king also hath sufficiently prouided for this thing by his Edicts. And thus this Bishop made an end of his oratiō, adding this one thing: (by the kings leaue) that it was mete in punishing to haue a prudent consideration of the place, of the time, of the wils of men, & of the cōpanie called togither.

After this man, Carolus Marillacus Bishop of *Vienna* in *Dolpheny*, vttered his opinion in maner and forme following.

The oration of the Bishop of Vienna.

Although that matter which is propounded vnto vs to deliberate vpon, is very hard & long: bicause it is left at large, and is general, & therfore the more vneasie to be concluded, seing we must come frō that which is generall, to particularities: in discussing wherof, the diuersitie of Iudges will bring (as it is likely) great varietie of opiniōs: yet notwithstanding, we must hold this as a sure & certaine rule in the discussing of all matters: namely, that after long consultation & debating of things, some certaintie at the length must be concluded: & that there cannot be a more pestilent mischiefe, & mortal plague in the gouernment of common weales, than to wander among the diuersitie of opinions, & to appoint and retaine no certaine thing. And if this rule, so greatly commended of wise men, & so prudently obserued of kings, of common weales, & of Princes, which euer at any time florished, ought to stirre vs vp to follow the same way and rule: truly, the necessitie & the extremitie in the which we are, hath brought vs into such a strayt, ꝑ we cannot do otherwise though we would. And as all men of sound iudgement wil confesse, ꝑ matter cannot abide in that state, in the which it is now, any lōger. But lest I be tedious vnto you, I will come to the matter. The tumults which of late haue happned, the feare of newe things, the complaintes and displeasure of many men, and the feare also and dreade that is among

among men, ought to ſtirre vs vp to ſeeke and prouide for remedies in time, which may defende vs from theſe great troubles, which elſe wil make a great alteration of ỳ ſtate. And that I may briefly conclude this matter, I thinke that there are two things, as it were two pillers, by which, the ſtate of the kingdome may be fortified and borne vp: namely, the integritie of Religion, and the good will of the people. The which, if they were ſtable and firme, we neede not doubt the ſafetie of things: but if they be once caſt downe (as it is to be feared) there muſt needes followe great ruine and deſtruction of that hie and notable building. Theſe two things therfore muſt be ſtabliſhed and confirmed to preuent that ruine which is like to come: and to this ende (as both common profite and neceſſitie requireth) all our Councels, reaſons, deuiſes and deliberations ought to tende: ſeeing hereupon both the due obedience to the King, and the conſeruation of the people dependeth. The which things are ſo ioyned togither, that the one of them by anye meanes cannot ſtande without the other. As concerning neceſſitie, we muſt meaſure and wey the ſame by hauing a reſpect and conſideration of the King, and of his principall members or miniſters, which vnder him gouerne the people, and of others alſo who ought to obey. Firſt of all therfore, it is the Kings duty to wey & cõſider wherunto he is called, & wherfore ỳ Lord hath giuen vnto him ỳ rule of ſo great a people. In ſo doing, he ſhal find that the Lord hath choſen him to be a King to this ende, that he might keepe the people vnder the knowledge, feare, and obedience of God, that he might gouerne them by good and wholeſome lawes, and alſo to ſaue and defende them from the enimie: and in all things to ſhewe himſelfe ſo ſtudious and carefull for the common wealth, that he may be honoured and be beloued as a father of the people. For this is the onely difference betweene a King & a Tyrant: The King reigneth and ruleth with the good will, loue, and conſent of the people: but the tyrant ruleth

Two pillers of the kingdome

The office of a King

A Tyrant.

ruleth by violence and force. In a King therefore a man may behold the ordinance of God, the author and preseruer of Common welthes and humaine societie: In the tyrant the force and violence of the Diuel, who goeth about to peruert that ende to the which God hath ordeyned Kings and Potentates. Herevpon it commeth, that as the King is loued of all men, and hated of none, but of wicked men and Rebels: so the tyrant is feared of all men without exception, and therefore hated of all, according to the olde Prouerbe, *Quem metuunt, oderunt*, him whome men feare, they hate. Therefore if the King will be loued, and obey the commaundement of God, and retaine the obedience and loue of his subiectes, he must of neessitie stablishe Religion, he must heare the complaintes of the people, and must prouide for them remedies, as a father prouideth for his children: seeing that he is set in the kingdome to that ende, neyther can he doe otherwise, except he will make himselfe vnworthy of the grace of God, by which he confesseth that he hath reigned as both examples of holy Scripture, and domesticall examples also do plentifully declare.

The first bond therfore which confirmeth, knitteth, and retaineth the obedience of kings, is Religion: ỹ which is nothing else than to know God, as it becommeth vs, that is to say, according to his prescript will. And now seeing we ought to acknowledge him, to be ỹ creator, author, & preseruer of all thinges, it must needes follow, that al our actions ought to tende to the setting forth of his glory. Wherevpon it cōmeth to passe, that Religion, which is ỹ most assured bonde of humane actions, and of the true obedience of subiects towards their kings, ought to be reformed, preserued, & maintained. Butbicause that bonde is dissolued and broken in these our dayes, both by the malice & wickednesse of some, and also by the doting madnesse and folly of other some, and by the corruption of our time: it is no doubt, an euident demonstration and token of the wrath of God, which threateneth

Religion.

vnto vs great destruction, not farre hence, vnlesse it be prouided for out of hande. For beside the varietie of doctrines, who euer sawe the ancient discipline of the Church so miserably abused, contemned, and reiected: errors so dispersed and roted euery where, offences and stumbling blockes so common, the life of Priests so corrupt, and so much to be reprehended, and also so many and great tumultes among the people. The way to remedie this great euill and mischiefe, is a generall Councell, the only ancient & vsuall meane: but as it plainely appeareth, that is not to be hoped for, and that for two causes: The one is, It is not in our power to bring to passe, that the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings, and the Germanes, should by & by agree of the time, the place, and maner of holding of a Councell: in which things there are oftentimes great cõtrouersies. The other cause is this, Such is the disease and mischiefe, & it so grieueth euery part of the kingdome, that there is small hope of any remedie: Like as if a man troubled with a cõtinuall feuer, or with some other grieuous disease, which requireth letting of blonde, or some other present remedie, cannot tarie to haue the Phisitions help which dwelleth farre of, bicause of ỹ great vncertainty of his cõming. Therfore we must bring to passe to call a Councel of our Nation, as it was before concluded, the which also the king hath alredy openly promised: And this parliament must of necessitie be called, both for the necessitie which so vrgeth the miserable Church, being brought to so great extremities, & also for the kings estimation and credit, who by his owne letters hath openly giuen forth & declared ỹ same: but specially bicause there hath nothing happened since that time which might let or hinder the same: but on the contrarie part, there grow new things & occasions daily, which do vrge and driue vs to take to call a Parliament, vnlesse we could be contented to lose all that we haue. The Emperour Charles the v. lately deceased, whē he came to *Bononia*, and had conferred with Pope Clement concerning matters of

Why a generall Councell is not to be looked for.

A Parliament.

the

the Church, he willed his Chauncelor to talke with ỹ Pope concerning the calling of a Coūcell, both to reformme the maners of Church men, and also to establish the doctrine which was in controuersie. The Pope vehemently withstode this thing, affirming that there was no neede to call a Councell, neither for doctrine, seeing that al new opinions are refuted & condemned of the ancient Councels, neither yet for Ecclesiasticall discipline, which was so wel appointed, that it was sufficient only to obserue & kepe the decrees written concerning the same. But the Emperour being not satisfied with this answere, replied againe, that it coulde not be, but that the great assembly of the generall Councell, shoulde bring great profit, & doe much good, both to cut off that euill which daily increased more and more: and also to repaire and confirme those things which were very well already receyued and allowed, & to binder & cut off that which might abolishe them by discontinuance and want of vse. And in this minde concerning the procuring of a Councel he continued, so lōg as he liued: In the which matter he founde no greater aduersaries than those, who shoulde haue set him forwarde in so commendable an enterprise. The contrauersie betwene Charles the v. and Pope Clement.

Our auncetours were wont euery fiue yeares to call generall Councels, as it is to be seene in the decrees. But as touching priuate Councels, or Councels assembled out of our owne Nation, we shall find in the histories of the Kings of Fraunce, that they were called in euery Kings tyme, beginning at the raigne of Clodouæus, vntill the tyme of Charles the great, and so forth, vntill we come to Charles the seuenth his dayes. The which Parliamentes, or assemblies, were sometimes gathered togither from euery part of the whole kingdome, sometimes from one halfe of the Realme, sometimes but out of certaine Prouinces onely. By which Parliaments it was seldome seene but that there ensued great fruite and profite to the reformation both of doctrine and maners.

Let vs not staye therefore any longer at the matter, but followe the examples and wayes of our elders: and let vs not be afrayde to be accused to be bringers in of newe customes, seeing that we haue so many examples to followe: but let vs assure our selues, that there must needes followe thereof prosperous successe, seeing that God is alwaies present with those which assemble themselues togither in his feare and name. Neither let vs defer the time any more, seeing that necessitie doth so vrge vs, and seeing spedie remedie is so greatly required. We haue many sorowful and lamentable examples to set before our eyes, which are forewarnings vnto vs of great desolation to come, as the miserable state and condition of the Churches of the Iewes, of the Greekes, of the Egyptians and Africans, the which in time past flourished, but at this day they scarsly retain a christian name. For these causes I conclude that we must defer the time no longer to call a Parliament, to remedie these things, without hauing any consideration or respect to these things which the Pope may obiect as letes against the same: seeing that both it is lawfull for vs so to doe, and also bicause our conseruation & safetie is now in hazarde. For if any one part of the kingdome were lost, it is not in the Popes power to restore the same vnto vs againe. Whatsoeuer may happen or befall, we must not perish to fulfil the Popes minde: but must rather followe (at this time specially) that rule which God hath giuen vnto vs, and which our elders haue so oftentimes followed. But yet truly while this Parliament shall be a preparing, I think it shall serue very wel for the purpose, if we prouide three or foure remedies, which may greatly further this our enterprise. The first is, of the Churches, that Prelates may remaine and abide in their Diocesses: and in this point let no man be borne withall. And here I think it good to put you in mind of the Italians, who enioying and occupying the thirde part of the benefices & spirituall promotions of this kingdome, drawe vnto themselues

Forewarnings of desolation to come.

selues great profit, & like horseleaches suck out our blonde, hauing no care at al to dwel vpō their benefices. And laughing vs to scorne, we are so blinde that we cannot see it: And if we chaūce to espie it, we are pacified againe by their flattering wordes. If the King should hire a great multitude of souldiers, and giue them wages, and if they should abide stil at home, & haue no care of their martiall affaires in ỳ warre, had not then (think you) the King iust occasion to depryue them of their wages, & to dismisse them? And thus truly doe our Prelates behaue themselues, who in the troublesome time of the Church, when heresies & such like wickednesses were in diuers places sowne abrode (ỳ which in deede is the greatest warre of the Church, being so much greater than the earthly warre, as ỳ helth of the soule surpasseth & excelleth the helth of the body) sate notwithstanding in the midst of their pleasures, voyde of all care of their flockes cōmitted to their charge. The second remedie is, to shew & declare by some notable & manifest act, that we are fully perswaded, & bent seriously to seeke a reformation, least the aduersaries should cauil & say, that we call a Councel, not to reforme the Church, but to seeke our owne aduantage, & to stablishe and confirme our owne prerogatiues & priueledges. In ỳ which matter nothing seemeth to me more meete & conuenient for vs, to declare that we haue an earnest care for the reformation of the Church, than if we loke diligently about that nothing be done in the Church for money and bribes: to the ende that Babilonicall beast Couetousnesse, which hath brought so many euils & corruptions into the Church, may at the length vtterly be ouerthrowne. And so we shall finde a more easie waye to controuersies: and shall also stop the mouthes of those that slaunder & backbite vs. If any man obiect & say, that so great a matter cannot be brought to passe by so small a number of men as we are, without the determination of the Generall Councell, we make vnto thē this answere; namely, that there is no new or vnwonted thing

Couetousnes the Babilonicall beast.

brought in by vs, but we seeke to bring those things to passe which Christ hath plainly commanded, Councels determined, & Kings the executors of Councels confirmed, & which in our time also they which haue ben the best learned in the Romish Church, by their iudgementes haue allowed. The
Math. 10. authoritie of this voice abideth for euer, Freely ye haue receyued, Giue freely. Spirituall things are giuen freely: therfore it is not lawfull to buye & sell them: and are in that order that they were giuē to be distributed, that is to say freely. Herevpon they are called
Symoniakes. Symoniakes, which take vnto themselues that vnlawful and forbidden gaine: of the which simonie or forbidden gaine, we haue so many examples both in the scriptures, & also in the histories of ỹ ancient Church, that we shall not nede at this time, to make any longer discourse of the same. And to say somwhat of the Coūcels, how oftentimes was this forbidden, namely, that not onely corruptions, but also suspition of corruption, should be taken awaye & insomuch that they which distributed & gaue the almes, were forbidden to giue it in the time of the sacramēts, least they should seeme to giue their almes for the receiuing of the sacraments, as ye may reade in the Councel of *Ancyrane*, and others. In like maner king Lodoicus, seeing that confusion creeping by little and little into the Church, commaunded that the Clergie shoulde abide and dwell in their Dioceses, and that no money euer after should be caried to Rome: shewing how greatly this chopping and chaunging did displease him: & yet there was neuer any man that was
ope Paulus thirde. counted a greater Catholike than he. Also Pope Paulus the third, himselfe, in our time, seeing that many departed & forsoke the Church of Rome, and fearing that this mischiefe would grow more & more, was constrained by the continuall cries of the Protestantes, to confesse that there were many errors got into the Church, & therfore commaunded certain men that were coūted notable in learning, to note diligently what things were worthy of reformation, & swore them

to

to hide nothing thereof from him: threatning them, that if they did not discharge their office throughly, they should incurre the penaltie of excommunication. Among the rest to whome this charge was cõmitted, were these, Contarenus, who was made Cardinal in Germanie, for his dealing in ỹ notable cõtrouersie: cardinal Theatinus, who after the same Paule the third was made Pope: Cardinall Sadoletus, & cardinall Poole the Englishman: & fiue others also, which for their great learning were chosen to this office. These men, whē they had diligētly examined ỹ matter, gaue forth their sentence & opiniõ in publike writing, the first article wherof was this: Nothing ought to be done for money, in the vse and administration of the keyes, that is to say in the power of the Church. Notwithstanding, that Pope Paule the third which was so hote in the matter with his thundering threatnings, did nothing at all therein when it came to the pinch. Neither would Pope Paule the fourth his successor, whē he was yet but Cardinal, establish that which he thought to be mete & necessary. I omit that which Bernard & other learned fathers haue said: only this I say, except we apply our minds, & put our hãds to the tearing vp of this rote of al euil, Iesus Christ will descend from heauen with a whip in his hand to expel vs as buiers & sellers out of the temple. The third remedie shal be, to confesse our faults, the which in deede is the first step to helth, & to make the same manifest by publike & generall fastings: the which maner was alwayes obserued in the olde Church, whensoeuer any great perill or daunger was like to come vpon the Church, as plague, famine, or warre: the which three euils in these our dayes inuade the realme togither. For what greater plague can there be, thã that which slayeth mens soules? What greater famine can there be, than the famine of Gods word? Or what warre cõ be more mortall or cruell, than the corruption of pure doctrine? By which we being drawn frõ God, are depriued of the eternal kingdom which Christ by his bloud hath purchased for vs. Let vs therfore turn vs vnto those old accustomed remedies,

Contarenus.
Sadoletus.
Cardinall Poole.
Math. xx.
The third remedie.

O'de accusto-med remedies.

remedies, as to Common prayer, to fasting, and to weeping: and first of all, we must take into our handes the sworde of God, that is to say, his worde: the scabard wherof we learly retaine: neither must we thinke that Mytres, Croziers, Cappes, Garments, and other ornaments (the which in old time were outwardly worne, to shewe that which was inwarde, that is to say, that godly doctrine ought to be ioyned with a godly life) can deliuer vs frō the cōtempt of the people: seeing that which is eternall is wanting, & there onely remaineth an outward shew & feined sight. Let vs set before our eies this horrible sentence which Iohn the Baptist pronounced against the Iewes, saying: Nowe is the axe put to the roote of the trees, euery tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruite, is hewne downe and cast into the fire.

The fourth remedie.

The fourth remedie shall be, while the Councel is a preparing & gathering togither to stay seditious persons, & so to restraine thē that they breake not by any meanes the cōmon peace & tranquilitie: & let this be kept as a law ratified and inuiolable, ỳ it is not lawful for any subiect, vpō any occasiō, or for any cause, to take armes, & to lift vp ỳ sworde without the cōmandement or leaue of the Prince, ỳ only moderator & gouernor of warres. This I speak for ỳ sorowful exāples sake which hapned, & are like to happē, except we take heed. Of the one part we saw the tumult of Ambaxia: on ỳ other part, there were certain Preachers, which stirred vp ỳ people to tumult, & violently to set thēselues to destroy & banish those protestāts, vnder a pretence of godly seditiō: as though that Religion could or ought to be established by sedition. And thus there was greate offence committed on both parts, insomuch that many were slaine, which were thought to be Protestants. Moreouer, those protestants did greatly offend, enterprising many things rashly, to put away these iniuries offred vnto thē, taking armes, therby violating the law of ỳ magistrate, which belōgeth to no priuate persō. For the end of ỳ law is, to line according vnto Gods wil, to hurt

no

no man, and to obey the lawe of Armes. Therfore the king is the maintainer of Gods law, and the moderator of warres, the which he may and ought to vse to the authoritie of the lawe, and to the punishing of rebelles and traitours. To be shorte, he counteth him selfe a king, who, although he be not ordained of God, yet of his owne will and authoritie moueth warre. And truely hereupon it followeth that he ought to be counted of all men as an enimy, and to be punished as a breaker of Gods ordinance and publique power. For this cause I thinke it good that commaundement be giuen to inferior Magistrates, that they diligently attend vpon their charge and offices, least some newe thing happen by their carelesse negligence. Hereby therefore it euidently appeareth that the first bonde to preserue the kings estate is, so to establishe Religion, that no man may abuse ỹ same at his owne pleasure, against the authoritie of the law, and the ende thereof, which is, that both God and the king maye be obeyed.

But now to come to the seconde principall point, as concerning the ordering and keeping of the people in due obedience, we thinke this to be the waye, namely, to heare the complaintes of the subiectes, and to vse conuenient remedies for the same. Notwithstanding there is great difference betweene priuate & open complaintes, for if the complaints be made of priuate persons to priuate persons, the diligence of the Iudges which are appointed to ordinary gouernemẽt, is a spedie way to remedie and helpe them. The seconde principall point.

But when there are generall complaints, or when eyther the confirmation or alteration of things commeth in question, we must straight way haue recourse to those auntient constitutions and orders by whiche the safetie of the kingdome standeth: the which are nothing elſe than those three orders which we call the states. That is to saye, that those things being made manifest and opened which maye bring any confusiõ, and the remedies which were prouided The state of the kingdome which consisteth of these three, namely of the nobilitie, clergy, and communaltie.

to put away the ſame, being diligently ſought for, the king for the loues ſake that he beareth to his people, maye determine and appoint that which is iuſtly required to the honor of God and the cõmon profyte of all men. Of the which thing, the good will of the people wholy dependeth, that hauing done that duetie which he oweth vnto God, he may in lyke maner ſatiſfie the mindes and willes of his ſubiectes.

And ſo he ſhall not onely keepe the name of a king, & the gifts of nature appertaining to a kingly name, but alſo may rule and gouerne by peace: ſeing that gentleneſſe may allure them of their owne good wils to do more, than force or violence can extorte from them.

And to the ende it may euidentlye appeare that the complaintes are ſuch ỳ they ought to be heard and examined of the aſſembly of ỳ States, I will ſhewe vnto you a generall reaſon, namely this: The extraordinarie fares, tallages, & tributes haue ſo increaſed, that now the ſubiectes not onely are not able to beare this great burthen, but alſo not able to ſatiſfie & diſcharge thoſe old duties which were before time accuſtomed to be payde. Is not this a complaint to be conſidered & talked of in the aſſembly of States? Seing the greateſt part of ỳ people complaineth of the ſame, and are by no maner of meanes any thing diſburthened: but ſpecially ſeing that to heare the afflicted & oppreſſed, is the beginning of conſolation, & to declare a readineſſe and good will to eaſe thẽ, is the greateſt & principall point to heale: the which at the leaſt may ſtay thẽ leaſt diſpayring they ſhoulde ſeke an alteration & remedy. If on the cõtrary part, the king alledge for him ſelf, the calamitie and trouble of the long continued warres, the diuers and manifolde charges and coſtes that grewe thereof, the ſcarſitie and emptineſſe of his Treaſurie, and alſo the greate arrerages and debte in the which he founde the Crowne when he came firſt to the ſame: Is not this a complaint to be conſidered and talked of in the aſſembly of States?

Tributes.

If

If the people alledge that the king ought to maintaine himselfe and his traine by his yerely reuenewes, and that he ought to hold and maintaine warres with his subsidies, and to set forth armies with his customes and tributes, the which things were for this cause graunted in time passe.

If in like maner the king declare that he found almost al his demeines distracted, deuided, and conueyed awaye, the greatest part of the subsidies taken vp before hande, and yet he himselfe, greatly burthened and indebted, to the ende he might obtaine by the consent of the people, that those burthens being somewhat eased, might remaine as yet for a time, vntil meanes and wayes, which are dayly deuised to recouer againe his demeines, may be brought to effect.

But is there no other better ways to be had to bring things to passe than by ỳ assembly of the States? To speake briefely, if there be anye maner of complaint whatsoeuer, pretenced or otherwise, where can it be better put forth thã in the generall assembly of the States? and if it be a iuste complaint, where can he haue a more present remedie than ỳ which shal be deuised by so many men? but if it be vniuste where can the same be sooner found out thã in ỳ assembly? The commendation of the generall assembly of the States.

There is also another consideration of necessitie, wherof there arise great daungers, seing in these straites and extremities, there is no ordinary remedie vsed. First of all, the king is scarcely obeyed in his Edicts and statutes: ỳ which is one of the greatest signes of sedition. For when the people are not heard in those things wherof they do complaine, it commeth therevpon that they cast away all hope to haue redresse, and so they fall into such desperation, that they dare enterprise to ease and vnburden them selues, without the hauing of any consideration of the kings cõmaundement or his officers: yea they arme & prepare thẽ selues against all perils, as though nothing were more sharpe & intollerable.

On ỳ other part, they which say ỳ they are greued, captiously take this cõplaint of ỳ people, & increase ỳ same: & do al

that they can, to amplifie and enlarge that with newe lyes which they haue once falsely tolde and reported for a truth. Hereupon commeth the vnhoneſt publishing and casting abrode of slaunderous bookes and publique writings. And the people being exulcerated and vexed with their owne diſeaſe, willingly receiueth that which appertaineth to their diſeaſe, and by the ignorance of the kings matters, doe slyde and fall into these sinister and wrong opinions. Of the which things to haue so great and manifolde destructions arise, is great daunger, many examples whereof we see dayly. To auoide which destructions, it seemeth most necessarie to call an assembly of the states. And although the causes hytherto spoken of shewe no necessitie, yet notwithstanding the necessitie of the assembly of these men is such, that it ought to be wished for of all men. For what is more to be desired, & méete for a yong King to gouerne his kingdome, than to be taught the things that concerne his kingdome, that he may know the maners of his people, and those things also which belong to the order and gouerning them. Therefore let him learne to spende as he may and not to excede: and let hym play the part of a good shepherd, who in shearing of his shepe doth not flea and pull of skin and all, but leaueth the skinne that he maye receiue the fleece at another time againe, and let him consider that whatsoeuer he spendeth more than his ordinarie reuenewes, tribute, customs and tallage, is as it were the substance and bloud of the people whome he is set to gouerne by Gods appointment.

Slaunderous bookes.

A lesson for Kinges and Queenes.

Hereupon shall come honeſt and godly education: hereupon shall come, both good beginnings and happie successe of all things: and at the last the king shal get vnto him that Magnificent name with great glorye, as to be called, *Pater Patriæ*, The father of the countrey, as King Lodowic the twelth was, which leaueth a notable memorie behinde to all the posteritie, & is more to be desired than the Laureat crowne for victorie in warre. Another commoditie also will ensue

Lodouicus. xii. pater patriæ.

and

and that is this. The people of *Fraunce*, being chered by and comforted by this demonstration, they will seke all that euer they be able to ease those burthēs: for they once vnderstanding their kings businesse and neede, will implore all that euer they haue to doe their king service. But we must take heede least that prompte willingnesse, being to often styrred, doe not turne at the laste to impacient and brutishe madnesse.

And these commodities are ioyned with great honestie, for that the king, if it please him, maye in the beginning of his raigne, examine olde customes and lawes, the which is the onely waye to correct and amende matters that are out of order. For although the king alone be the author of the law, & he onely can rule, yet notwithstanding those things which he hath constituted and ordained by this assembly of the states, are of greater force and efficacie: and those will the people more willingly obey and kepe, bicause they vnderstande that they were confirmed by many mens opinions and Iudgements: wheras otherwise, onely a fewe being assembled together, they Iudge that the matter was done according to the mind and phantasie of a fewe, the reasons not examined & wayed which might haue bene brought against the same. For by these meanes the Frenchmē haue preserued them selues and the kingdome vnto this daye: neither is there anye well ordered kingdome, in the which this order of assemblies is not obserued: the which ought to be of great waight and highly esteemed.

For seing so many kings do confesse that they fele and perceiue so many commodities to spring and growe of thys good order, and that they doe counte the same the staye and strength of their scepter, we can not certainely well and honestly departe from so ancient & commendable a custome. And as for the contrarie reasons which were wonte to be brought to hinder these assemblies, they can preuaile nothing at all, seing the perill of those things which happened

at another time are by no meanes to be feared, the Kings authoritie at this day being ſo firmely eſtabliſhed, and confirmed by the counſell of the Queene, and by ſo many conſents of Princes and Nobles, that if theſe reaſons might be receiued and take place, there is no doubt but that all their practiſes would be voide and fruſtrate which thinke it good and perſuade themſelues that it is neceſſary to haue a new alteration of the common weale, and ſhoulde be a moſt ſpedie remedy to mittigate & take away al perturbations. The which one thing we muſte with all diligence poſſible prouide for.

The ende of this oration.

And thus he made an end of his oration: In the repeating whereof we haue beene ſomewhat long, but yet for all that the matter is worthy of repetition, and not diſagreeing from our purpoſe.

The day following the reſt declared their Iudgementes, and firſt began the Admirall, and the Cardinall of *Loraine*, made an ende. But this was the ſentence of the Admirall Shatillion namely: that he would haue had that thoſe ſupplications which he had offered to the king, ſhoulde be ſubſcribed of thoſe in whoſe name they were put forthe: who anſwered, that they were readye either in a ſmall or great number to ſubſcribe thoſe ſupplications which they had exhibited: yea, they ſayde that they would aſſemble themſelues together to the number of fiftie thouſand before ỳ kings Maieſtie, if ſo it pleaſed him. But there can nothing be deuiſed more peſtilent, thã the Prince to ſtand in feare of his ſubiectes, & to be in perill of them: & in like maner the ſubiectes to haue an euill opinõ of their Prince, and to be ſuſpected of their king. Alſo he ſaide that it was ill prouided to bring vp a yong prince in that feare, & alſo to giue thoſe occaſions to ỳ ſubiects of fearing. At the laſt he concluded that his ſentence was, that the errors of the Church ſhoulde be taken awaye, that the garde lately giuen to the king ſhould be remoued, and that there ſhoulde be called forthwith an aſſem-

The ſentẽce of the Admirall.

assembly of the States.

Thus when the Admirall had made an ende, the Duke of Guise taking occasion vpon that which he had spoken, began thus, saying, that it was not wel saide of some that the king ought not to be so & so brought vp. when as he is so excellently ordered, & specially by the Quene his mother by whō he is indued, as it were with a certaine fulnesse of all vertues. And as touching that which was spoken concerning the increasing of the Garde, he said that he himself did mislike alwayes of the same, vntill certaine did moue a sedition & put them selues in armes, which seemed to be entended altogether against the kings maiestie. But wheras it is commonly reported that this sedition was not moued against the king, but against manye of his ministers & officers, that is a vaine cloake, & nothing answering the matter. For there is not any one of vs that euer hurt one of thē by priuate offences, or harmes. But they beare all that hatred against vs for the executing of our offices, which we haue by the kings authoritie and leaue: and therefore to speake more truely, they hate not vs but the king.

The Duke of Guise.

Wherfore he said, he sawe no reason, why that number which was newly added to the Garde should be remoued and taken away.

And as touching Religion, he saide, that he stode to the Iudgement of more learned men thā he him self was: howbeit this one thing he would protest & professe, that no cōcels at any time should so preuaile with him, ỳ they should bring him frō the ancient Religion of his elders, & specially frō his beliefe of the holy sacrament of the Altar. Finally, he said concerning the assembly of the States, ỳ he wholy referred the same to the kings maiesties will and pleasure, & to like or dislike of the same with him.

The Cardinall of *Loraine* begā his sentence vpō those confessiōs which were offred to the king by ỳ Admiral, saying, ỳ they were nothing lesse thā obedient & faithful, howsoeuer they

The sentence of the Cardinall of Lorain.

they boasted them selues. For so long as the king will like of their opinions and sects, or at least wise suffer them, they will shewe them selues obedient to the king.

But I appeale (sayth he) to the Iudgements of all men in this matter, whether it be more meete to follow the opinions of these Jolly fellowes, thā the authoritie of the king. To graunt them Churches, were to allowe their Foolatry, which the king could not doe without manifest perill of destruction. And as concerning a generall Councell, or a Councell assembled together out of our owne Natiō, I cā not see (saith he) by any meanes how it should be necessarie, seing that it should be called onely to reforme the maners of certaine ecclesiasticall persons, the which might be done with lesse businesse a great deale, namely by particular admonitions. And as touching that which els appertained to Religion, he saide that the same had bene so oftentimes established and confyrmed, that he wished that onely to be followed which had beene hitherto obserued and appointed, for so much as all assemblies of Councels whatsoeuer, can appoynte no more than the obseruation of those things that haue beene kept alreadie. And where as it was sayde that they which should subscribe their names to those supplications which they had put forth, would assemble them selues together to the number of fiftie thousand, to that he answered, ỹ the king might set against thē ten thousand mē of his Religion. But it is manifest (saith he) of what minde they are, by their railing libels which they scatter abroade in all places against euery man. Among which great number of libels, he saide, that he had in his handes fiue and twentie, which he diligently kept, as a testimonie of great honour, bycause he was euill spoken of by those villanous knaues, trusting that they should be monuments of his eternal and euerlasting praise. Therefore he wished that those seditious & troublesome persons might be most seuerely punished, and specially they which woulde put them selues in

The Cardinall of Loraine hopeth to get honor & fame by keeping libels that were scattered abroade.

armes

armes as many had begon. But, he said he thought it good that they should sustaine no punishment which frequented those sermons without armour, and onely for conscience sake of Religion, which sang psalmes, & went not to Masse, and such like: Adding moreouer that he was very sorie for the sharpnesse and cruelties of those punishments which had bin hitherto vsed, protesting that he would most willingly spende his owne life, if it might doe any good, to bring them into the right way. Affirming also that Bishops and other learned men oughte to indeuour them selues to bring this thing to passe, according to the commaundement of our sauiour Christ in the Gospell, saying Reproue thy brother betweene thee and him. &c. Also he wished that the Gouernours and other Lieutenants of the Prouinces, would diligently attend vpon their offices, to see that none seditiously put thē selues in armor: in like maner that the Bishops and curates, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, would haue a care and diligent eye to their charge, to note and marke the abuses and errors of the Churche, and to certifie the King within the space of two monethes of those things whiche they knowe, that thereby it may be knowne how necessary it is to haue either a generall counsell or a Nationall counsell. For it is verye profitable to call and assemble all the states together, that all men may perceiue and see how wel the Realme is gouerned. And thus he made an ende.

The reformation wished for by the Cardinall of Leraine.

A Nationall counsell, is as much to say as a counsell gathered orely oute of the French nation, which I gesse we maye call a conuocatiō of the clergy, whereas a generall counsell consisteth of diuers nations.

When they had thus vttered their sentences and minds, the King and Quéene gaue thankes to the whole assembly, whose Counsell they saide they were readye to followe, graunting vnto them that, whereupon they had concluded, namely, That all the states of the Realme, should be assembled togither, and that if there coulde not be a generall councell, there shoulde be with all speede a Nationall Councell. Wherefore they determined and concluded that the states of the Realme should be at *Meldis*, the tenth day of ỳ moneth of December nexte comming, excepte it shoulde please the

kings maiestie to appointe some other place. And that the States belonging to euerye prouince should make in their prouince, an assembly and consultation particular before that time, to the ende that those things which should be debated of in the general assemblies, might be vnderstode. Also that bycause it was in a maner agreed, of a generall Councell, betweene the Pope, the Emperour, and the Christian princes, the Bishops should come the tenth day of January next comming to the king, that they might agree & conclude of the sending to the generall Councel, or else of the hauing of a particular and Nationall Councell.

And that in the meane time the Bishops should get them to their Dioceses, both to prepare them selues, and also diligently to note and marke those things which lacke reformation. In like maner that the Ciuill and substituted Magistrates, should keepe the people in peace and obedience, sparing and omitting neuertheleese, paynes and punishmentes due to offenders, excepte it be to suche as put themselues in armes and moue sedition: and yet notwithstanding the King to reserue vnto him selfe his power and authoritie to punishe those which are counted the authors of seditions and tumultes.

This was the conclusion of that consultation, the which shall appeare wonderfull if we consider the state of the former times. For that libertie, which as yet is but little, but before lesse, being restored frō fiery flames, and from death it selfe, so preuailed before the King, that it increased more and more.

But for all that the aduersaryes ceassed not their wicked Councels and practises, what faire and paynted wordes so euer they vsed, who by and by againe burst forth & shewed them selues, by these occassions.

A tumulte against the Prince of Conde.

There was a certaine seruant belonging to the King of *Nauar*, whose name was Sagua, who being come to a place called *Fontisbellaqueum*, and meeting with a certain souldier called

called Banna, talked with him, & earnestly persuaded with him that he would not serue vnder the Guises, for (sayth he) there are wayes deuised, to punishe and handle them as they haue deserued: and at the laste made rehersal of certaine things more particularly.

Banna the souldier hearing this, went and tolde the whole circumstance to Marshall Brissacus, who exhorted him to goe to the Duke of Guise. To him therfore he went, and tolde him all the whole matter in order. Then the Guise desired him to faine friendship and familiaritie toward this Sagua, and to fawne vpon him, & often times to repeate their former communication, also to shewe him to one of his household seruants. The which this Banna did. And Sagua was apprehended by the Guise. There were also taken in the hands of Sagua, certaine letters of Monsier Vidam of *Carnutum*, to the Prince of *Conde*, in the which he declared: That if the Prince would take any thing in hande, worthy of kinglike seruice, he was ready to serue him, and for his sake to spende both goods and life. Upon the onely occasion of these letters, the king gaue commaundement that Monsier Vidã of *Carnutũ* shuld be takẽ. The which was with all diligence brought to passe by the Guises. In the meane time, there came from *Lions* frõ the Abbat Sauignius, letters concerning the bewrayed & frustrated practises of Malignius, who was said to go about to take *Lions*. Sauignius for his rewarde receiued the Archbishoprick of *Orleans*.

Letters sent to the Prince of Conde taken.

Monsier Vidã apprehended.

By the meanes of these newe tumultes the king came from *Fontisbellaquæum*, to the Citie *Sangerman*. But the cause and mischiefe of all these things was layde vpon the Prince of *Conde*, who was openlye accused to seeke the alteration of the state of the common weale, and also to be the author of the tumulte of Ambaxian. Then was Cursolensis sente to the King of *Nauarre* to commaunde him to come vnto the King, and to bring his brother the Prince of *Conde* with him.

The king of Nauar, and the prince of Cõde are sent for to the king.

In the meane time Monsier Vidame although he was very sicke, yet was he very straitly imprisoned, in so much that his owne wife might not come to visite him. And being straitly sykted by those whiche were appointed to examine him concerning the meaning of his letters, he still made this answere, namely: That he did write expressly of those things which appertained to the obedience of the king, and of whatsoeuer else that shoulde be done by the kings commaundement: Also he saide, that he was a nere kinsman and friend of the Duke of Guises, yet for all that, if there were any private controuersie betweene him and the King of *Nauar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, he woulde rather take part with them thã with him, in so much that for them two, namely for the King of *Nauar*, and for the Prince of *Conde*, he would spend both life and goods.

On the other part, the familliar friends of the Prince of *Conde*, with whome he was thoughte to haue conference and consultation, were dayly caste in prison: and the suspicions of ỹ Huguenotes dayly increased more & more, for by this newe and straunge name were the faithfull of the reformed Church then called.

A new Edicte against the reformed Religion.

Then was there a newe Edict made That no Prince, or any other man whatsoeuer shoulde contribute money, armor, horses, and such like to the setting forth of Souldiers: and that he which shoulde be founde to doe this, should be counted a Traitor to the King.

There was yet a seconde messenger sent to the King of *Nauar*, that he and his brother should come with all spede. This Messenger was Cardinall Burbonius their brother. Publique supplicatiõs for the peace of the kingdome, were euery where forbidden.

And wheras the assembly of States was determined before to be holden at *Meldis*, it was now translated and remoued to *Aurelias*, Marshall Termensis, being sente with two hundred armed men to kepe the citie.

At

At the feast of Saint Michaels order, Monsier Vidam, being one of the forsaide order, put vp a certaine supplication by the Cardinall of *Loraine* as by the Chauncelor of that order, desiring that according to the auncient custome he might be iudged of all those that were of that honorable order of Saint Michael, and that for those causes onely for the which he deserued, to be dismist of the same.

This thing at the length was graunted through the earnest sute of the Constable: and the selfe same day that Monsier Vidam was dismist of the order of Saint Michael, there were xviij. into the same honorable order, by a newe and vnaccustomed maner chosen by the trauaile and meanes of the Guyses, to the intent they might bynde many vnto them by that benefite or promotion.

While the king of *Nauar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, were loked for, commaundement was giuen to the Gouernour of *Poictiers*, to goe to *Pictauium*, and not to suffer the king of *Nauarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, his brother to come into the Citie. But for al this, at the length by the kings letters and commaundement, the king of *Nauar* was receiued of the Marshall Termensis into *Pictauium*, with all his traine: being neuertheleſſe on euerye side beset with armed men: the which suspicions the king of *Nauarre* toke in verye euill part.

Then the king came frō *Sangermane* to *Paris* with a great armie both of footemen and horsemen in battaile aray, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall of *Loraine* attending vpon him. From thence he went to *Aurelias*, with the same army, and in warlike order entered into the Citie: being reported abroade that the king came thither for two causes, the one was to keepe the Citie from the treason of the king of *Nauarre*, the other was, to call and summon a Parliament. The king cōmeth to Aurelias.

Many therefore were made afearde, but specially they which were chosē to be of the assembly or Parliament, whē they heards that so greate an armie of men came with the

king. Then cõmaundemẽt was giuẽ that euery one should rehearse & confesse the confessiõ of his faith according to the prescript & rule of those articles which were set forth by ẏ Papistes, in the yére of our Lord God. M.D.XLI. and it was reported for truth that ẏ Cardinal of *Loraine* had drawn forth in writing those things which should be inacted and established in that assemblye. There was also watche and ward throughout the whole Citie appointed to be kept, euen as if the enimie had come to assaulte the same.

Againe commaundement was sent to the King of *Nauar*, that he should come with al spæde, and bring his brother the Prince of *Conde* with him, many also were sent into diuers partes of the Realme, to take the names of all those that were noted to be of the reformed Religion.

The prince of Conde taken at Aurelias.

At the length the king of *Nauar*, & the Prince of *Conde* his brother came to *Aurelias*, there to salute ẏ King. But so soone as they had saluted ẏ King, the chiefe & principall of ẏ kings Garde, as they were cõmaũded layd hands vpõ the Prince of *Conde* & caried him to ẏ next hold prepared for ẏ same purpose. The which holdes were forth with fortified and made strong with Irõ grates in euery window, & a Castell was hard by the same erected & built to receiue the footemen.

Thẽ were there certain mẽ chosẽ to watch & kepe ẏ King of *Nauar*, whose Chaũcelor also was taken, & by & by with al spæde was the Lady Roye, mother in lawe to the Prince of *Conde*, takẽ and arrested & brought to the citie *Sangerman*, to whose charge it was layde that she was giltie of treason.

The Magistrates were ready to take & receiue hir & opened the prison dores to bring hir in. Straight after this also was Hierome Groslotius the Gouernour of *Aurelias* taken, in whose house the king lodged, being accused of negligence and slouth in searching out the heretikes: Howbeit he was quit and discharged of this matter by the decrée & Iudgemẽt of the Senate of *Paris*. But the Andelote, whẽ he had saluted the King and the Duke of Guise, & had excused himselfe by

the

the disobedience of the French hoast of wtemen, departed in very good time, otherwise as the most likly report went, he should haue bene taken with the Prince.

In the meane time there were subtile deuises and craftie meanes inuented to assault and trouble the Prince of *Conde*. And when Iudges were chosen oute of the Senate of *Paris*, as Fagus, and Viollæus, & the Lieutenant of Thou, the kings Solicitour was commaunded to open the cace now in controuersie, and to procede with the same. But the Prince alleaging for himselfe his noble bloud & princely state, standeth with them vpon this point, that he ought not to be iudged of them, but rather of the king him selfe & of no other, in the *Senate* of *Paris*, the Peeres and Nobles of the Realme beyng assembled together. Therfore he saide that he appealed to the King. Then the appeale was brought vnto the Princes Counsell, the which appeale, they said was nothing, and of no force: And this was done often times. But at the laste they concluded, that excepte the Prince woulde answere before those Iudges, he should be condemned of hie treason.

Then the Prince of *Condes* wife desired of the King that so much libertie might be graunted to hir husband, as to cõsult w̃ learned counsell. The which was graũted vnto hir, in so much y he was permitted to take y coũsel of two lawyers, namely of Petrus Robertus, & Frãciscus Marillacus, coũsellers in y court of *Paris*, but he was no otherwise permitted to haue them, thã vpon this conditiõ, that whensoeuer he cõsulted with them the king to haue vmpires & indifferent mẽ, to be present at their talke. The Prince also required y it might be lawful for him, beside these two counsellers, to consult & confer w̃ his two brethrẽ, the king of *Nauar*, & the Cardinal of *Burbõ*, & also with his wife, & to toyne with thẽ what vmpires & witnesses soeuer it should please y King, affirming y he was very loth to doe any thing without his brethrẽ, specially in a matter of so great waite. The which request notwithstanding was denied him: only he obtained leaue to write vnto them his minde.

At

At the length being come to the matter in controuerſie, he ſaid to his counſellers that were preſent, that the affliction which he now ſuffered, was not laid vpon him by God, for that he had gone about to worke any thing againſt ỹ kings maieſtie, but rather that by this affliction he might trye his conſtancie. Alſo he ſaid that he did not thinke him ſelfe to be Captiue, ſeing that he inioyed the freedome of minde, and a pure and ſounde conſcience: but rather that he thought thoſe to be captiues which had their mindes & conſciences bound and clogged with the burthen of their ſinnes and wickednes ſes in a body ſet at libertie.

When he had thus ſpoken he gaue certaine notes of the defence of his cauſe vnto his Counſellers. For king Frances by the ſubtill meanes and falſe perſuaſions of the Guiſes, was fully perſuaded that the Prince of *Conde* conſpired his death, and that therefore he was giltie of treaſon and worthy to ſuffer condigne punishment for the ſame.

Therefore while the bloudy ſlaughter was a preparing, and whileſt all men loked to ſee great things come to paſſe, beholde ſodaine and vnloked for alterations happen. For the king had a ceataine paine and diſeaſe in his eares: Of the which after he had bene ſicke a while he dyed, the fifth day of December in the yeare of Lorde God. M.D.LX. At the which ſodaine alteration the Guyſes were not a little diſmayde.

The death of king Frances the ſeconde.

When King Fraunces was deade, the Quéene his mother ſent vnto the Conſtable, (who had detracted the time to come to *Aurelias*) aſſuring him of hir friendſhip, and promiſing vnto him that neuer hereafter none ſhould intrude him ſelfe into an other mans office, and praying him alſo that he would come vnto hir with all ſpéde. Where the Conſtable came to hir to *Aurelias*, without delay with Partiall Momorencius his ſonne, and ſaluted the newe King. Neuertheleſſe the Prince of *Conde* was kept in holde ſtill, but not without greate reuerence of his kéepers ſhewed towardes him, and

conti-

continued in prison after the death of the King by the space of ten dayes, denying to go out of prison, vntill he knewe his aduersarie in this matter layde to his charge. But all the matter was layde vpon the King deceased. Therfore by a wonderfull and straunge way or meane, as by the death of the King, the subtill practises of the aduersaries were brought to naught: whose funerall was so slenderlye celebrated, that he was depriued of that vsuall pompe which Kings commonly haue at their buriall, all men wondering that the Guises woulde suffer the same: the which also was very wel noted by a publike Epigram or libel sent abrode.

There were truly, within a short time, wonderfull & manifest signes of Gods iust iudgemēt against many Princes: the which al mē at that time did plainly see & acknowledge. Concerning the which, these verses folowing were made.

Charles a Tyrant King, of all kings that before him went, 1
Most craftily by counsell gainst Christ, his force he bent,
Till that his foolish madnesse, of children being espied,
In midst of all his mischiefe, most sodenly he died.

And thou O *Henrie* eke, by men that wicked were & nought, 2
VVast too much led, and therfore greedily hast fought
The bloud of godly men, thereof to drinke thy fill,
But he that sittes aboue, restrainde thee of thy will.

For in thy witlesse mode, thy rashnes great thou didst declare, 3
& therfore woūd of deth, by spere thou hadst ere thou wast
And so thy bleding corps ēbrued the earth with blood, (ware:
Bicause to kill the Saints, to thee it seemde so good.

Frances that was his sonne (vnhappie childe) did so direct 4
His fete in his yll wayes, that Christes voice he did neglect:
He stopt his eares as deafe, when Christ to him did crie,
And therfore putrefacted eares did cause hī streight to die.

Be warnde therefore (O Kings) by these examples iust,
VVisedomes doctrine to receiue, or else to turne to dust.

P. Thus

Thus rumors were spred everywhere abroade, that so wonderous a thing had happened, the lyke wherof was never heard of before: namely, that they which were brought to that passe, ỳ they should haue bene put to death, were now aduaunced to great honor. And contrarywise that it was come to passe, that they which thought their authoritie to be confirmed for a long time, sawe the same taken awaye, and were brought to their former state and degree.

A wonderfull alteration after the death of King Frances the seconde.

They which were of the assemblie of States, trembling and quaking before for feare, toke now vnto themselues a bolde courage, and with one consent make petition that the king of *Nauar* may be the ruler & gouernor of the kingdome during the time of the Kings nonage & minoritie: & also that the Princes the kings nere kinsemen, with the Constable, the Admiral, ỳ Andelote, & with ỳ rest of the Nobles, might be always of the kings Counsel: & that Cardinals & Bishops should be sent to their dioceses, to discharge their Ecclesiastical offices, according to ỳ rule of the canõs in that behalf.

The priuy displeasure of the Queene, against the Prince of Navarre.

The Kinges mother toke it not in good part that so great good will and fauour should be shewed to the king of *Nauar*, whom she deemed not long ago to be hir enimie: & they increased these suspitions, which went about to cõfirme their authority by their dissentiõs, vnder king hatred & spite against the king of *Nauar*, through ỳ sentence of the assembly of the parliament, which wished him to haue the rule of the kingdome. And thus the minds of the Nobles being diuided into two factions: one part held of the Quene, & another part with the king of *Nauar*. Insomuch that a man might see, the Constable, ỳ Admiral, & his two brethren alwais in the cõpany of ỳ king of *Nauar*: On the other part, ỳ Guises, Nemorosius, ỳ Marshal Santandræ, & ỳ Marshal Brissac, & the cardinal of Turnõ always were about the Quene, & stode vñder hir.

The King of Nauar yeldeth authoritie to

So that now, there was great daunger of present seditiõ: but the king of *Nauar*, by his courtesie & suffrance, put away all this daunger like to arise, yelding vnto the Quene authoritie

thoritie to gouerne the kingdome. When the Quéne being somewhat appeased, plainly saide, that she knew nowe the causes of all the troubles past, namely, that all the Princes which were of the Kings bloude, were displeased, that they were not accoũted off, according to their worthinesse, which thing, she said, she would sée reformed euer afterward. By this occasion the stomacking and taking of parts betwéene them, séemed somewhat to be represſed. the Queene to gouerne the Realme.

There followed therfore a wonderful alteration & chaũge: and all men began to talke one to another, & to say, that the companies of armed mẽ were prepared & gathered togither to some other vse & purpose, than for ỹ safetie of the king: & that their coũsels and meanings were otherwise, which had arrogated vnto themselues authoritie: also that their practises shoulde not so easily haue successe nowe. But the churches now, which before were in great perplexity & fear, obtained peace: and all men hoped nowe for a better state. The peace of the Church after long affliction.

For amidst those sundrie troubles and manifolde afflictions which happened vnder the raigne of king Frances the administration of the sacraments, & the preaching of Gods worde neuer ceased in the reformed Churches, although the number that were assembled, were but small, & though also the same was not done without great daunger & warnesse. For at that time there were cruell conspiracies against the Church, which woulde haue done great harme to the same, had not the Lorde by his prouidence tourned them away. Then did the reformed Churches cõmaunde solemne prayers with fasting to be vsed: and they which were the gouernors and chiefe of the congregation, exhorted their brethren to be of good chéere, and comforted them, willing them patiently to loke for helpe from the Lorde. So that after so great afflictions and feare, there followed exceeding ioye, and the sodennesse of the chaunce made the matter to séeme more wonderfull.

Then was there newes brought of the death of Monsieur

The death of Monsieur Vidame.

Vidame of *Carnutum*, who was kept at *Paris* in holde for those causes whereof we haue spoken before. Whose death many of the Nobles toke very heinously.

Then were certaine thinges appointed and determined, concerning the gouernment of the kingdome: & the imperie and rule was deuided betwéene the Quéene and the King of *Nauarre*; and that in such order, that the chiefest authoritie to gouerne the Realme, was giuen to the Quéene, against all law and auncient custome of France. Wherfore by reason of this sodaine chaunge, the assemblye of States were interrupted and brake vp for a certaine space.

A conuocation of States, or of a Parliament in king Charles the .ix. days

But they were assembled togither againe in the same place, the .xiij. daye of December, Charles the King, the Quéene, and the Princes, according to the maner accompanying them. Then the Chancelour at the commaundement of the King declared, that there was no lesse willingnesse in the King, than there was in his brother before him, to haue an assemblie of States: and that the rather bicause the King himselfe was newlye come vnto the kingdome. And he proceéded speaking very seriously and plentifully, of the cause, ende, and vse of calling an assemblie of States: and why the same being omitted for the space of eight and twentie yeres, shoulde nowe againe be brought in vse. And when he had shewed the King and the Subiectes also their duties, he came to speake of those causes more particularly, which brought to passe, that there should be an assembly of States: that is to say, of the Seditions, which he wished might be taken quite away, for that they were like to bring so great troubles to the whole Realme. And to finde out spedye and profitable Remedies for the same, he sayde, the causes of so great euill must first of all be noted and knowne.

The oration made by the Chauncelour.

Sedition what it is, and wher of it commeth

We must (sayth he) in euery respect and condition, disalowe and vtterlye condemne sedition, the which is nothing else but a separation, and a pulling awaye of the subiectes from

from the Kingdome and Common wealth. And it ſpringeth of diuers cauſes: Firſt, of feare of ſome imminent euill which may come by iniurie and oppreſſion: and alſo of the expectation of great things, to put awaye penurie and ſcarcenelle. But the ſpeciall cauſe is Religion. And this is very ſtraunge, and moſt wonderfull: becauſe God the only true author and preſeruer of Religion, as he is an enimy to diſſention, ſo is he the defender and preſeruer of peace. Chriſtian Religion needeth not the defence of Armes: neither doth the beginning, or conſeruation therof ſtand vpon force of armes. Neither is their aunſwere to be allowed, which ſay, That they take not armes and force in hande, to offend any man, but to defende themſelues. For by no meanes is it lawfull for the ſubiect to ryſe againſt the Prince, yea, it is no leſſe vnlawfull for him ſo to doe, than for the children to reſiſt their parents, whether they be good and courteous, or ſharpe and cruell. Thus did the godly Chriſtians in tyme paſt ſet forth and maintaine Chriſtian Religion, namely, by long ſufferance and patience, & alſo by deuout prayer for wicked Emperors, which ouercame their crueltie. The very Ethnikes truly prayſed & highly cõmended thoſe, which had ſuffered iniuries and reproches for their countrie. But we which are Chriſtians, ought not to allowe the opinions of the Greekes and Romaynes, concerning the killyng of tyrantes.

If men were ſuch as they ought to be, there ſhould neuer come any ſtrife or contention for Religion. But it is manifeſt, that there is no greater force than the firſt conceyued opinion of Religion, whether ỹ ſame be good or euill. There is no peace to be hoped for betweene men of contrarie Religion. There is nothing that doth more violently aſſaile the hearts of men, and that doth more inuade them: there is no affection that is of greater power, and more violent, either to bring friendſhip, or to bring hatred, than Religion. The Iewes hated all other Nations as prophane: And all other

The force of Religion in the mindes of men.

Nations hated the Iewes. But wherefore? for Religion. What and howe great hatred was there in time past betwæn the fathers, and the Arrians? But I omit such ancient examples, and I will come nearer, euen to our selues. England, and France, embracing al one Religion, shall be more surely linked and knit in frendship and loue one towardes another, thã they which disagreeing in Religion, are of one Countrie, kinred, and name. Diuersitie of Religion dissolueth all the bondes of loue: it setteth the father against the children, and the children against the father: brother against brother, the man against the wife, and the wife against hir husbande: according to this place of Scripture, I came not to sende peace: but a sworde. Herevpon it commeth to passe, that in all Realmes there are oftentimes grieuous seditions. For if it come to passe, that there be variãce & disagreement betwæne those that are by nature so fast linked together, by the meanes of Religion, what maye we thinke of others? Not the diuersitie of tongues but the diuersitie of Religion, maketh diuision of kingdomes, and of Common weales. Herevpon commeth that olde Prouerbe, *Vna Fides, vna Lex, vnus Rex*, that is to say, One faith, one Lawe, and one King. Among these diuisions and discordes, howe can it be that violence and force of armes shoulde not be vsed? For warre followeth alwayes discorde and dissention, according to these verses.

Bellona is the Goddesse of warre.

Discordia, that Ladie of stryfe and of wo,
hath with hir, *Bellona* hir handmaide also:
VVho alwayes doth carie a most bloudy scurdge,
the vndoubted reuenge of strife and of grudge.

Therefore the principall and chiefe cause of this disease and mischiefe, is the discrepance and varietie of Religion. To cure the which mischiefe, there is not a more present remedie, than to haue a Councell, as it was lately concluded at *Fontibellaquæum*, and we haue nowe great hope to obtaine the same at the hands of the Pope. In the meane time

let

let vs shewe our due obedience vnto the yong King. Let vs not, for Gods sake, receyue newe opinions according to our owne fantasie. Let vs in time with wisedome consider of the matter, and let vs diligently seeke to vnderstande the same. It is no trifle that we haue in hande, but it is the saluation of our soules that is in question. If it maye be lawfull for euery man at his owne discretion to receyue what Religion him lysteth, take heede that there bee not so many Religions as there be men. Thou sayest that thy Religion is better than mine, and I defende that which I embrace, whether is it more meete that I followe thy opinion, or thou mine? Who shall ende our controuersies, but the holy Councell? In the meane time let vs not alter any thing rashlye, least by seditions we bring warre into our Kingdome, and so there followe a confusion. The King and the Queene will leaue nothing vndone that may procure a Councell, and if this remedie maye not be had, they will seeke other remedies. And nowe our Prelates and Ecclesiasticall persons (if they will consider the weightinesse of the matter) will loke better vnto their office and duetie than they haue done heretofore. Let vs knowe, that the dissolution of our Church, was the first beginning of heresies: but it is to bee thought, that a Reformation will take them away againe. This victorie must not be sought for by violence, or by force of armes, but by godlye exhortations, and by godlynesse of lyfe. Wyth these weapons, the Heretikes in tymes past, were ouercome. We must not hate the menne, but the vyces and wickednesses that are in men: and wee must goe aboute, all that wee maye, to bring them into the waye that are in errour. Let vs therefore put awaye all factious and seditious names, as the names of Lutherianes, Huguenotes, Papystes, and suche lyke, and let vs retayne and keepe still the names of Christians. But bicause there are manye founde, whyche will not bee satisfyed, desiring

Factious names.

desiring tumult and confusion, enimies to peace and the cō-
mon welth (and as it appeareth) contemners of God and
Religion: the King which otherwise of himselfe is gentle
and long suffering, hitherto hath bene constrayned, and per-
aduenture shall be hereafter vrged, to indeuour himselfe to
punishe the frowarde obstinate. It may seeme a very sharp
remedy, but if we loke well vpon the disease and mischiefe
yet a growing, we shall find it very necessary for the same.
Notwithstanding, it is so come to passe as yet, by the good-
nesse of God, and the clemencie of the Prince, that there
hath bene no greater punishment layde vpon any man, nor
no greater destruction followed, as the subuersion of Ci-
ties, the burning of houses, the disfraunchizing of Cities of
their priuiledges, and the restraint of their liberties: the
which, other Princes that dwell about vs, haue oftentimes
vsed, euen within the compasse of our remembrance, for the
punishing of seditious persons. And bicause it is to be fea-
red, least the armies of souldiers being dismist, the seditious
will begin to practise and conspire a freshe, of two things
the one is to be done, namely, that either the armies be kept
and maintained still (which cannot be done without the
great cost and charge of the Subiectes) or else that the Ci-
tizens of euery Citie, endeuour themselues to punishe such
seditions and seditious persons: and he that shall be first
founde to go about to alter the state of the common welth,
let him by his seuere punishment be an example to all the
rest. The King to this ende and purpose will giue you a
power of armed men. Consider with your selues which of
these wayes is most for your profite, either that you main-
taine garrisons of souldiers to keepe the cities for the king,
or that you your selues in your owne persons, do it at your
owne costes and charges. As for all other things the King
will prouide and see vnto them by his officers.

The accusatiō of forreine Princes.

In the meane time, let such as are Ecclesiastical persons,
doe their dutie by prayers, by Sermons, and by diligent in-
structing

instructing of the people. And so it will come to passe that the King shall be obeyed, and you shall enioye peace & tranquilitie. Whē the Chaūcelor had proceēded thus far forth, and had spokē somewhat concerning the kings substaunce and great expences, exhorting the Court of Parliament to ease the same, he declared that it was the King and the Quēnes pleasures that euery man shoulde frēely put forth his complaintes and sutes: for that their Maiesties intended with all clemencie, as it was mete, to prouide for all thinges. And this only was done the first day.

In the next meeting the assemblye of States chose out three men to speake for them, the which three stode before the King and made their seuerall orations. The sum wherof I will briefely repeate, so far forth as they shall seeme necessary for our purpose.

The speaker for the thirde order of States, that is to say, for the Commonalty, was named Angell, a Counseller and a pleader of causes in ỳ Senate of *Burdeux* in *Gascoyne*. This man declared by many reasons, that for the due putting away of perturbations and troubles it seemed good and most necessary to the people, first of all to remoue and to take away the causes. Which causes (he saide) were partlye the corruptions among Ecclesiasticall persons: among which corruptions (which were very many in number) there were three notable and more pernicious than the rest: namely, Couetousnesse, Ignorance, and Luxurie. Ignorance (he sayd) was so manifest that no man neede to doubte of the same: and so great also that among that sorte of men it was to be seene from the hyest to the lowest. Which ignorance is the mother and Nurse of all errours, as both experience, and also the testimonies of learned fathers aboundantlye declare.

The oratiō of the cōmonaltie, made by Angell.

The ignorāce of prelates.

To remedie this, he saide, Canons and decrees woulde be prouided but in vaine. For so great is the contempte and negligence of preaching and instructing the people, (which

is notwithstanding the office of a good pastour) that Bishops at this day counte it a shame and reproch vnto them to feede the flocke of Christ.

And such as are Curates, and other masse priests, following the euill example of Bishoppes, doe also euen abhorre their office, and doe commit the same to vnlearned vicars: who singing Masses for their rewarde, haue onely some one slender bolsome collation or other, which they alwayes vse without discretion, as one plaister to all maner of soares.

Couetousnes. The seconde vice is Couetousnesse: the whiche as it is no lesse pestiferous than Ignorance, so is it no lesse to be seene as well in the heades as in the inferiors.

And as for Luxurie & the pompe and pryde of Prelates, he sayde it was suche, that it was a great stumbling blocke and offence to all men. For they are painted and set forthe as though by an outwarde shewe in the worlde they should representhe maiestie of God: when as they shoulde rather expresse the same by godlynesse and integritie of life. How greatly haue our Bishoppes of late dayes degenerated from the meane estate, puritie, and godlyneste of the true Byshoppes of olde time? All these corruptions (saith he) must be taken away by a godly, and lawfull Counsel called, and also by the kings authoritie.

The oration for the nobilitye. The speaker for the Nobilitie was one Iacobus Sillius. This man began first to speake many things concerning the power, authoritie, and office of kings, and largely also concerning the order of Nobles, which he saide was verye profitable and necessary to preserue and maintaine the dignitie of the king.

In speaking of matters concerning Religion, he founde this fault aboue all others, namely, that hytherto there had beene great ouersight, in suffering Ecclesiasticall persons to haue so great power and authoritie, and so large lyuing and reuenewes: who haue incroched vnto them selues ỹ houses of Nobls men, & do wickedly abuse all that euer they haue.

Wher-

Wherfore (saith he) it is necessarye that these sortes of men shuld be reformed. Also he wished that it might be diligently forseen that the office of an Ecclesiasticall person might not be committed to an vnlearned, vnapte, and ignorant person, affirminge it to be vnlawfull for them to dwell from their flockes in other places at their owne pleasure, and so giuing them selues to worldly busnesse, wholy to neglecte their offices: but (sayth he) it is the kings duetie to cal them to their office againe.

And in the ende he made earnest petition that there might be wayes taken in time to stop the seditions at hande: and also that it wold please the king to haue regard & consideration to his nobles, as his auncetours had done before him. When he had thus spoken he put vp a Supplication, in the which petition was made in the name of the nobilitie that temples might be graunted, for the vse and seruice of the reformed Religion.

The oratiō of the Clergy.

After this man, one Quintinus Heduus, who was chosen to be the speaker for the Clergie, when he had commended the king and Quéne to their face, saying that the kings of *Fraunce*, were specially chosen, euē as if they had bēn borne and appointed, to be defenders of the Churche of *Rome*, and that therefore they had that moste auncient name from all ages, as to be called Most Christian Princes, he sayde that this assembly of States or court of Parliament was verye well called. The causes of the which assemblye (saith he) is that the complayntes of the people might be hearde and holpen, and that meanes and remedyes might be prepared for the scarsitie of the kings treasure and substāce. But this (saith he) is the greatest cause of all, whiche I speake with great sorrowe and griefe, and yet notwithstanding muste nēdes speake the same, namely, that the corruptions and notable faultes of Ecclesiasticall persons myght bée reformed and amended. For (sayth he) the matter is nowe come to thys passe, that they thē selues which shuld declare

The faultes of persons Ecclesiasticall.

this Ecclesiasticall holynesse by their life, are more afrayde of the kings Edictes than they are of Gods worde, and of the Gospell of Christ. Notwithstanding we muste therefore thinke (saith he) that the reformatiō of the Church is sought for, which hath not erred, neither can erre: but a correction only of those most greuous faultes in those men which were the chiefe gouerners of the Church, which correction must procede from the king: but so notwithstanding the king must vse correctiō, that he follow the steppes of those kings that haue gone before him, who alwayes fauored ỹ Church. Adding to this also that those kings his auncetours woulde neuer haue suffered the wicked practises of these newe fellowes, which falsely and wickedly of late time take vnto them selues the profession of the Gospell, that they might therby both refuse all ecclesiastical order, and also abolishe, if they might, al Ciuill power and authoritie. For (saith he) the king ought to this ende specially to exercise his authoritie, and drawe his swerde to punishe and vtterly to rote out all heretikes giltie of criminall punishments.

Churches.

Therefore he desired that Churches might not be graunted to those horrible men (for so he termed them): and that they also might be counted & punished as heretikes, which durst offer the supplications of Heretikes to the king. This truely (saith he) hath bene the olde subtill practise of Sathan to bring this libertie to heretikes, that they might the more securely and without feare of punishment destroy the Gospell, the which subtill practises he hath nowe also in hande, and therefore the more diligent hede (saith he) ought to be taken. In like maner also he desired the king that according to the doyngs of his Auncetours, and also according to the example of Charles the great (whose name he bare) he wold constraine all his subiectes to liue according to the Canons & rules of the fathers. For detestable (sayth he) is the boldnesse of these new heretikes, which scoffing at the authoritie of the fathers, and reiecting the doctrines and Canons of

the

the Churche, saye that they will haue nothing but the true Gospell onely: as thoughe ỹ promise of Christ were vaine and to no effect, who promised that he would neuer forsake his Churche: and as thoughe that they were wiser than so many Fathers, which left so many godly Canons behynde them in writing: also as though they alone vnderstode the word of God. Horrible boldnesse & rebellion is that (sayth he) which calleth of the yoake of the Church: and what else will they do at the last but murmur and grudge also against the power and authoritie of the Ciuill Magistrate?

Moreouer he said, that the notes & badges of the Church were not obscure, which these new men wanted: as the euerlasting and continuall succession from the Apostles time, and the Canons and rules which the Fathers left behinde them: which badges the Church of *Rome* hath.

Therefore (saith he) that they may neuer hereafter abuse the name of the Churche, we must plainely pronounce and affirme, That the Church of Rome is the Catholique, or vniuersall Church. But if these newe men take vnto them the name of the Church, we will not denie it them, but we saye that they are not of the True Catholique Church, but of the Malignant Church. Also he made petition that they which had fled the Realme for Religions sake, might be banished men for euer: that they might lose all maner of priuilege, and that they might be handled euen as if they were forraine enimyes.

Furthermore he saide, that aboue all things, that drowning floud which had flowed out of the diches of *Geneua*, was most pernicious: and therfore he exhorted the king that he would to the vtmost of his power rote out all such as came from that place, and not to holde the yong childe excused, if so be he came from thence: seyng that God would call him to an accounte for the doing of his duetie: And perswaded Quéene Katherine also (the kings mother) by the example of that Katherine of whome Eusebius maketh mention, to

Euse booke 11. of the lyfe of Constantin.

ouerthrow and rote out these newe Heretikes. Therefore he sayde that this was the onely cause of the great mischief at hande, that there were so many heretikes in euery place to the destruction of the Realme and all estates. Moreouer he desired of the King that Ecclesiasticall persons might be defended and maintayned, according to the commaundement of God, because they are The Lordes Christes, or annointed, as their badges, that is to say, their shauē crownes doe declare. Also he complayned that the authoritie to chose Prelates was taken from the Clergy and giuen to Kings, saying that it was done against Goes word, against the holye Canons, and against the approued examples of the Elders: and that euer since that tyme, (namely, from the yeare of oure Lorde God, M.D.XIII. when the same was first vsurped) all things haue had euyll successe.

Shauē crownes the badges of Christes annointed.

For (saith he) in that very yeare, in the which that lawfull right was abrogated from Ecclesiasticall persons, began that damnable heresie of Luther, whiche afterwarde toke suche roting in euerye place: and herevpon followed an infinit number of mischiefes. He intreated therfore that the same authoritie might be restored againe to Ecclesiasticall persons: and that the king woulde take away no more the reuenewes of Churchmen, for that they were consecrated and halowed, and coulde not be taken away withoute some manner of sacrilege, seyng that men of the Churche ought carefully to be fed and maintained. This thing if the king would doe after the ensample of Charles the great, he should get a most glorious name, and at the length be called Charles the greatest.

And last of all he made petition that al the Clergy might neither pay tribute nor tax: for that was the prerogatiue of the Church which oughte not to be taken from it. For saith he it is the chiefest part of the Kings duetie to defende the Christian faith and doctrine, and to maintayne Ecclesiasticall persons. The whiche if he did, (he sayde) that he promised

miſed vnto hym in the name of the Clergye, all proſperitie in thys worlde, and in the worlde to come euerlaſtyng lyfe.

Thus much concerning his oration, which we haue truly reported according to the written coppie of the ſame. Many marueiled what he ment ſo vndiſcretely to inueye againſt the proteſtantes of the reformed Church, ſeing that he him ſelfe ſometime had approued the ſame, and for that cauſe was conſtrained to depart from *Pictauium*.

Moreouer bycauſe he wiſhed them to be taken and puniſhed as newe Heretikes which ſhoulde offer ſupplications to the King, (all men at thoſe words loking vpon the Admiral as though he had openly noted him) the Admiral made complaint hereof to the king and Quéne.

Therfore Quintinus was called to come before the king, to gyue an accounte of that which he had ſpoken. Who excuſing him ſelfe by the inſtructions gyuen to hym of the Clergye, promiſed that he would openly in the aſſembly or courte aſke the Admirall forgiuenelle: the whiche alſo he performed. But after thys, ballets, and ſcoffing Libelles were ſet vp againſt him in manye places in ſo muche that he was openlye derided. Wherevpon at the length, partlye by the impatiencie of theſe contumelyes and reproches, and partlye by the griefe of hys owne mynde for his euill déede, he fell into a ſickeneſſe and gaue vp his life. The death of Quintinus orator for the Clergy.

After this there beganne to aryſe certayne quarels, complaintes and controuerſies againſt the Guyſes. For the Burgeſes of the Parliament that were choſen for *Burgundy* and *Dolphiny*, of the which Prouinces the two brethren the Guyſes were gouernours and chiefe, went about to bring to paſſe that the Guyſes might be counted as honorable, as anye of the Princes the Kings nære kinſmen were: to the whyche notwythſtandyng the greateſte parte of the Burgeſes of other Prouinces woulde in no wyſe conſent.

At

At the whiche, the Guiſes beyng offended, called thoſe that hindered their eſtimation, ſeditious perſons. They on the other ſide, miſliking to be ſo called, complayned therof to the Quéne, who onely gaue them this aunſwere, ſaying, that the Guiſes, did ſo call them, adding this condition, that if the Burgeſes did enterpriſe any thing againſt the kings Maieſtie, and not otherwiſe: and thus by and by they were ſent away.

Then were there certaine dayes ſpent in bringing the aſſembly of the Parliament together againe, and in debating of diuers matters. At the length, by earneſt ſute of manie the Parliamente was proroged vntill another time, namely vntill the firſt day of May nexte following. And ſo with thankes giuen to the king and Quéne, the Parliament brake vp.

The parliamẽt breaketh vp.

Then commaundement was giuen to all the prelates of the French Church, That they ſhuld prepare themſelues for the Counſell. Alſo that all Magiſtrates ſhoulde ſet them at libertie both in body and alſo in goods, which were kepte in priſon for Religions ſake. And that no manner of puniſhement or iniurie ſhoulde be offered for Religion, or factious names.

Then, when the rumour and fame of Religion increaſed dayly more and more, the Conſtable attended with all diligence vpon the king of *Nauarre*, in ſo much that he was ſeldome from him.

In the meane time, the Biſhop of *Rome*, hearing of the kings pleaſure concerning the calling of a Nationall counſell, and fearing leaſt the ſame woulde be hurtful vnto him, vrged by and by that there might be a generall Counſell holden at *Trent*, ſummoning the ſame incontinent and declaring it by publique writing. Againſt ỹ which one Paulus Vergerius ſometime a Biſhop & a notable papiſt, but at the length forſaking the Popes doctrine, became a member of Chriſts Church. This Paulus (I ſaye) wrote letters in the

Trent in Italy.

Italian

Italian toung to the Bishops of *Italy*. In the which he declared that the Pope had giuen forth a Bull, for the calling of a generall Councell, the which Bull when he had seene, he had great sorrow and griefe of minde and that for waighty causes. Namely, for that the Pope went about to disperse and scatter, and to ouerthrow & destroy the Churches of Christ, and to bring the same againe to the former state of desolation. Adding hereunto, that the Pope was greatly offended with the light of reformatiõ, which God had caused to shine in earth the space of these forty yeeres to men ỹ were blinded and ouerwhelmed in thicke darkenesse of errors. The letters of Paulus virgius to the Bishops of Italy.

As though (sayth he) you Bishops were iudges, & shoulde be vmpires in the Counsel to determine and ende matters. So soone as ye be come to *Trent*, ye shall heare some profoũd disputation or other by Monkes: but ye shall heare no man that dare truely reply against them.

Then shall be song very solẽne songs of ceremonies, ye shall be brought into the Temple of S. Vigill, ye shall haue faire and sumptuous clothes of Tapisery hong before you, ye shall haue Miters put on your heades: ye shall sit vpon maruelous faire chaires, which ỹ Cardinal of *Trent* brought from *Millaine*. And being there thus placed ye shall heare solemnly read out of a Pulpit, the decrees, which the Pope, an vnlearned and foolishe man, with the helpe of some one monke or other hath deuised. But as for you, ye must doe nothing but bowe downe your mytered heads to the Pope, and say to whatsoeuer you heare *Placet*, very well: and so to approue the same, as thoughe at the first sight you dyd vnderstand and consider of the matter very well.

Then will the Pope euery where publishe abrode, That the Bishops of the Catholike Church, haue iudged the Lutherans to be Heretikes. Whereas you neuer so determined or iudged of thẽ, but he alone which sitteth in Peters Chaire. And yet notwithstanding, ye shall be the cause of all these euils. Also that that be called a generall coũsell, in the which

neither we our selues, whose cause is in hande, are heard, neither yet the Bishops that are present do any thing of thē selues, but stande onely for sifers in agram? And the Pope will sende the Canons which were made at *Rome*, to *Trent*, that they may be counted the decrées of the generall Councel. And to ỳ end that ye might not doubt of this, what say ye to that which was don by Pope Paule. iij. and also by Pope Iulio. iij. Of the which matter I my selfe can be a sufficient witnesse, and my testimonie the more worthye to be receyued, for that I my selfe for bewraying this coloured deceite, was constrained to depart from *Trent*.

Who knoweth not that herevpon came this prouerbe: The holy Ghost is brought from Rome in a Cheste. I my selfe was once a Bishop, as ye be, and that waye bent, that ye are, vntill I forsoke the Pope, and got me to the Church of Christ. The which I count the greatest benefite that euer I receyued. But truely those toyes and deceitfull sleightes, are appointed now out of tyme in these dayes, seing ỳ clére light of the Gospel so brightly shineth throughout the whole worlde, and seéing the deceites of the Pope are so openlye knowne. Is this your generall Counsell, from the which, we that are the contrary part, and for whose cause ỳ same is assembled, are excluded? Is this I say the order of your generall Councell, that ỳ Pope shall commaund Patriarkes, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbates to be at the Councell, & shall exhort Kings and Princes also to sende their Clergye and prelates thither which are our aduersaries, and seclude vs which ought to make answere before we be condemned. And wheras the Pope woulde séeme greatly to desire that Kings and Princes shoulde either they themselues be présente, or else their Legates and Ambassadors, what a ieste and ridiculous thing is that? seing they haue no definitiue voyce in the Councell, but are onely lokers on. Therefore in your Councels, not wisedome, not godlynesse, not grauitie, giue Councell, but your Piters,

This

This and muche more he wrote, which for breuities sake we omit. Thus the Pope went about to bring to passe to haue a Councell at *Trident*.

And now at this time the Electors and Princes of Germanie which were protestants, met togither at *Numburgh*, that they might deliberate and consulte of the Confession made at *Augusta*, and offered to Charles the fifth in the yeare of our Lord God. M.D.XXX. and that bycause they heard that they were many wayes misreported of before the Emperor Ferdinando. And writing letters to the Emperour, they declared that they did holdfast & embrace with one cõsent that confession made at *Ausburgh*, & that they were ready to giue an account of ỹ same confession out of the word of God.

Augusta, is a citie in Germanie called Ausburgh.

While the Princes were thus occupied, there came two Legates from the Pope, to intreate the Princes of *Germanie* to come to the generall Councell. The which two declared their message as followeth. The one of them began thus, saying: That the most high bishop so sone as he was called to the most holy & reuerend office of gouerning ỹ Churche, to the end he might do the dutie of a true pastor, he had this care aboue al others, to correct and amend whatsoeuer was amisse: that the Church might be quiet, & that all nations might be of one consent & minde, and embrace one doctrine. To bring the which thing to passe, seeing he saw no better way or remedie than an assembly of a generall Councell, by due aduise & deliberatiõ, & by his own authoritie also which he hath frõ God, hath ordained & appointed a councel, which shal be holdẽ at the feast of Easter next cõming. And that the Princes might be ỹ more fully certified of this matter, & to the end they, ioyning their indeuor with the Popes carefulnesse, might be willing & diligent to procure ỹ tranquillitie & peace of *Germanie*, they said ỹ his holinesse, greatly desiring & seking the peace & quietnesse of ỹ countrey of *Germanie*, had sent his legates, to pray & exhort all mẽ to come to ỹ holy assembly: in ỹ which it should be lawfull for all men to speake what they would.

The Pope inuiteth the Princes of Germanie to the generall Councell.

Also they intreated those Princes by name, ẏ they woulde not by any meanes hinder that godly zeale and peace of the Church, the most holy Father being ready to giue vnto all men a most large Charter of the publique faithe, and most solemnly to be bound to performe the same: his holynesse exhorting al Princes to send their Ambassadors to that holy counsell with their commissions: to the ende the controuersies of the Church, (in the which there are so many opinions as there are heads, and so many Gospels as there are teachers) maye by their industry and diligence be spedily ended: and that they also giuing that honor which is due to the Church, one Faith may be kepte, and one God alone adored and worshipped.

Thus when the first Legate had very copiously vttered his mind, the other also begā in maner ⁊ forme following, saying ẏ he would not repeate those things whereof his fellow before him had spoken, seeing ẏ they had all one charge and commission from the holy Father.

There is no man (sayth he) that can be ignorant of the most greuous calamities of the Church, and into what miserie the same is cast one euill and mischiefe following another, occasiō being giuen to the enemies of Christes name to calumniate and speake euill of the same: Insomuch that of necessitie, so great confusion must be prouided for, ⁊ a remedy sought. For the dangers do require these things, the opportunitie of the time perswadeth to the same, and the clemencie and godly zeale of the holy Father, alloureth men therevnto: so that there could neuer be a better consent, and a more fitte occasion offered: the Christian common welth being pacifyed, ⁊ Gods grace so plentifully being giuen to ẏ most holy father, who is not only very careful for Princes, but also for souls helth, ⁊ ẏ peace ⁊ tranquilitie of ẏ church.

The answere of the Princes of Germany to the Popes Legates.

Thus they both made an end of their Oration, to whom this answere was gyuen: The moste honorable Electors, Princes, Ambassadors, and Counsellers, of the moste sacred Empire

Empire of *Rome* make this answere to the proposition of the Legates: namely, that they doubt not, but that a great sorte of learned, godly, and wyse men, of all ages and conditions, haue wished a long tyme, that the Churche might be in better state: praying that at the length the pure doctrine of the Gospell might be restored, and ẏ the wicked errors might be take away. Of the which matter Bishops of *Rome* ought to haue a speciall care, for that they haue of long tyme attributed to themselues the tytles of Pastors of the Church: but (say they) experience hath hytherto declared, that they haue bene rather occupyed in establyshing of their Tyranny, and in bringing errors into the Church, than in amplyfying and setting forth the glory of God, and in curing the diseases of the Church. The which truly is most manyfest, by to to many sorrowfull effectes, as the best friendes that the Pope hath cannot but confesse, if there be any shame in them.

Also they sayd that they did not a little maruel what moued the Pope, and what hope he had of them, that he sente his embassage vnto them, and that he woulde call them to this Councell: as though he were ignorant what Religion the States of the Empire followed: who of late, that they might reforme their Churches according to the true doctrine of the Gospell, were constrayned to plucke their neck out of the Popes yoake, that is to say, to separate thẽselues from their fellowshippe, which went about to oppresse and destroy the true doctrine of the Gospell.

We woulde therefore (say they to the Legates) that ye should knowe for a suretie, that the most noble Princes of Germany, will by no meanes obey the Pope, nor acknowledge that he hath any power, either by Gods lawe, or by the lawe of man, to call a Councell: specially, being such a one as maketh dissention & strife in the Church, and most cruelly warreth against the truth. Furthermore, they affirmed, that they were misreported of & slaundered, as though

they retained no certaine faith, but that there were now among them, So many heads, so many opiniõs, So many Gospels, so many teachers: whéras they retained the plaine and manifest confessiõ made at *Ausburgh*, and offered to the Emperour Charles the v. in ỹ yére of our Lord God. M.D.xxx. in the which not only all the principall grounds of faith are distinctly contained, but also ỹ celestial truth manye wayes therby set forth and published. Also they said that the generall complaints of all mẽ did sufficiently declare with what errors the Church of *Rome* was filled, and with what filthy superstitions the Gospell was there suppressed: in so much that the same is rather like to the traditions & vaine inuencions of heathen men, than Christian Religion. Wherfore (say they) bicause we haue of late separated and deuided our selues from the Churche of *Rome*, (not by anye rashnesse or vaine curiositie, or being led by any leude affections, but by the only commaundement of God which willeth all mẽ to flée Idolatry) we protest that we wil so abyde most constãtly, and not be subiect any maner of waye to the Pope. For we acknowledge no maner of iurisdiction, besides the iurisdiction of the most renoumed Emperour Ferdinandus.

And as touching the two Legates, the Princes saide, that were it not for the Popes ambassage, on which they came, they being worshipfully borne in *Venice*, they would shewe vnto them so great courtesie, fauour and friendshipas might be: both for that they loued the countrey of *Venice*, and also bycause the Legates them selues by the dignitie of their birth, were worthy, as they thought, to be well entertained. And thus the Popes Legates, with lost labour, retourned from *Germanie* againe.

Then beganne Religion and the great number of the faythfull to increase more throughout euerye province of the kingdome of *Fraunce*, but the deuill enuying that notable increase, there were then many perturbations and troubles raised vp in many places.

In

In *Prouince* (whiche was sometimes called *Narbon*) there was great a doe and much trouble. And the Gospell beyng much preached in the region of *Langres*, almost in euery citie with great assemblies of people to heare ỹ same, at the laste ensued great affliction by the Earle Villarius. Persecutions in Prouince.

Daulphenie also (which is called the Regiõ of *Sauoy*) embracing ỹ same doctrin, felt ỹ like persecutiõs. And by ỹ meanes of one Mottægondrinus, who was Lieutenant to the Duke of Guise, there was grieuous persecution at *Valentia*, in so much that a Minister of Gods word, and certaine honest citizens with him were beheaded. Moreouer garrisons of souldiers were placed throughout euerye citie, to the great anoyance and detriment of the faithfull, who notwithstanding wonderfully increased both in number & in zeale daily.

The Prince of *Conde* beyng sente for of the King, came to hym to the Courte, which was at *Fontisbellaquæum*, with a fewe onely attending vpon him. The daye following, he was called before the priuie Councell, and beyng come, he openly demaunded of the Chauncelor if he had any thing to saye against him, who answered that he had nothing to obiect against him: the like answere also made all the reste. And then he sat hym downe in his accustomed place. Then the King declared before all the assemblye, that the Prince of *Conde* had giuen vnto him due proofes and testimonyes of his innocencie: (for as we declared before, by the practises of the Guises he was accused of treason) the which he saide he dyd in no wise doubte of. And therfore he gaue commandement to the Senate of *Paris* to giue leaue to the Prince of *Conde* to haue larger testimonyes of his innocencie. And to the ende the Iudgement of the priuie Councell might be knowne to all men, commaundement was giuen that the same should be registred in the Register of the Senate, and sent also to the Ambassadors of other Nations. Therefore for because of these things, the Prince of *Conde* went to *Paris*. The Prince of Conde sent for to the Court.

In

The contentiō and falling out betweene the Queene & the king of Nauarre.

In the meane time there arose new contētions betwéen the Quéene and the King of *Nauarre*, he complaining to the Quéene that he was not well delt withall, for that he was ill requited for that great good will and courtesie which he shewed towardes the Quéene in yéelding vnto hir the gouernment of the Realme, the Duke of Guise being in office and authoritie aduaunced before him, who had not onely the keyes of the Tower to kéepe, but also by the Quéenes will did what him liste: Saying also, that the matter was very ingratefully handled, that he which had béen alwayes his enimie euen in the dayes of King Henrye and Frances, shoulde as yet be aduaunced before him. Also that if he were contented for the Quéenes sake to dissemble all things, and not to bewray his griefe, it was the more vnméete that he for his facilitie and tractableneſſe shoulde be abused by hir. In fine he saide, that either he, or else the Duke of Guise must néedes forsake the Court: adding also that he coulde by no meanes abide with the king, except the Guise departed. To this the Quéene made answere, that she did meane to gratifie the king of *Nauarre*, so much as she might, and so much also as equitie shoulde require: but seing as then she sawe no iust cause, she saide that she woulde in no wise expulse the Duke of Guise from the King, bicause those offices that were committed vnto him, of necessitie required his presence aboute the King. She sayde also that she well perceyued that these complaints of the king of *Nauar* were continual, and that one thing being graunted, she must dayly graunt more and more, and that there shoulde neuer be any measure or end of these complaintes. Notwithstanding for his sake, and to yelde vnto his complaintes, she said that she would giue cōmaundement that the keyes of the tower mighte be deliuered vnto him: although they pertayned to the Duke of Guise, bycause he was Lord great Maister: as maye appéere also by the example of the Constable, who heretofore bare the same office. To this the King of *Nauar* replyed

that the Conſtable diode it not vpon the ſame conſideration and in that order, but in reſpecte of his office of the Conſtablethip, the ſame thyng proprely appertayning to his office. But hereupon was kindeled a more fyerie contention, and ſharpe and bitter wordes paſſed on bothe partes: and in ſuche ſort that the nert day the king of *Nauarre* made himſelfe readie to depart, and his cariage and ſumpter horſſes beeing ſent before, he himſelfe was now readie to mount on horſebacke, and with him were readie to goe all the Princes, the kings néere kinſmen, the Conſtable, the Chaſtillions, and the greateſt part of the Nobles, the which if it had come to paſſe, the Guiſes, and they of their parte ſhuld haue ben left only with the King. And the report was that they would go no further than *Paris*, that there calling the aſſemblie of ſtates together, they might fully determine concerning the gouernment of the kingdome. The Quéene beeing verie ſorie for this ſodaine intention and purpoſe, by the aduiſe of the Cardinall of *Turnon*, called vnto hir the Conſtable, and to the ende ſhe might ſtay and deferre hys going, ſhe brought to paſſe that king Charles hir ſonne (two Secretaries being called to make record) commaunded and charged the Conſtable in this neceſſitie to abyde with him as one of the chiefe officers that might not be ſpared. This charge ſo ſtayed the Conſtable, that he neuer durſt (as he had promiſed) follow the king of *Nauarre*, for all the perſuaſſions that duke Momorencius could vſe, who perſuaded him to the ſame. Therfore the king of *Nauar* was let of his purpoſe. But it was euery where reported, that the Quene for the hatred ſhe bare vnto the king of *Nauar*, made muche of the Guyſes. The which rumour brought to paſſe, that they which ſhould come to *Paris* to the particular aſſemblies of the States (as in other prouinces of the realme they did alſo) came the more ſpéedily. In the whiche aſſemblie many things were moued, concerning the order and maner of gouerning the realme: as, concerning the remouing and placing

Deliberations of the particular aſſemblie of ſtates at Paris.

S.

placing ſome from and to the moſt honourable offices: concerning the Guyſes accompt to make of the money whiche was ſpent in the tyme of king Frances the ſeconde: concerning their euill behauiour in the tyme of king Henrie: and concerning their briberie and vnlawfull receyuing of money: In the whiche crime alſo the Marſhall Santandræ, the Duchelle of *Valentien*, and others were guiltie. All whiche were forbidden to be of the Kings priuie Counſell, vntill ſuche tyme as they had made their accompt. Then they whiche were for this cauſe aſſembled togither at *Paris* (as it is declared before) were forbidden to doe any thing concerning the gouernment of the kingdom: but they notwithſtanding, go forwarde with that whiche they had begonne, affirming that the ſame did ſpecially appertayne to the aſſemblie of States to be talked of, and not to be left to the determination and will of the Princes and kings kinſmen only. When the Quæne heard this, ſhe was oute of meaſure troubled, and fynding no better way or remedie, than to be reconciled to the king of *Nauarre*, ſhe deſired the Conſtable that he woulde endeuour himſelfe all that he coulde, to bring the ſame to paſſe. And at the length, the Conſtable beeing a meane, there was a newe couenaunte and league made betweene them: namely, That the King of Nauarre ſhoulde bee taken for the Vicegerent, or Regent throughoute the whole Realme: And that the Queene neuer after would doe any thing withoute his counſell and will.

Reconciliation betweene the Queen, and the king of Nauar

This and the reſt whiche tended to this effect, were confirmed and fully agréed vpon both by words and writings, and Regiſtred by the Kings Secretaries in publike record.

These conditions beeing concluded and agréed vpon, all the Princes the Kings kynſmen, and the Prince of *Condé*, being for this cauſe ſente for from *Paris*, ſubſcribed to the ſame. The Duke of Guyſe in lyke manner ſubſcribed with them, promiſing from thence forwarde to ſhewe himſelfe more obediente to the king of *Nauarre*. Then commaunde-

maundemente was giuen to the Marshall Momorentius that he shoulde with all spæd cause the States particularly assembled at *Paris*, to be reuoked and called backe agayn, and that the same whiche was dons at the first concernyng the order of gouerning the kingdome, should be quietly amended, and corrected. The which thing was wysely brought to passe by him, to the great pleasure of the Quéne, and also without any offence to the king of *Nauarre*.

Among the Ambassadoures of forreyne Princes and nations, whiche came into *Fraunce*, to gratifie the newe kyng Charles, there was the Ambassadoure of *Denmarke*, called Georgius Gluchus. For this man the king of *Nauarre* made a feaste, and desired him to tell his lorde the kyng of *Denmarke*, that he would before a yeare came came about, bring to passe, that the Gospell should be openly and frely preached thorough oute the whole realme of *Fraunce*. For the whiche thing, when thankes was giuen to God, and the good intent and purpose of the king of *Nauarre* commended, Georgius Gluchus the Ambassadoure prayed him that he woulde take hede that the doctrine of Caluine, and of the Heluetians myght not be receyued in France, but rather the doctrine of Martine Luther. Whyche doctrine the king of *Denmarke*, his Lorde, and the kyng of *Sueuia*, and many other kings and Princes. (whose dominion and power is no lesse than theirs whiche acknowledge the bishop of *Rome* and his Churche) do followe.

To this the king of *Nauarre* answered, that Martine Luther and Iohn Caluine did wholly disagrée from the Pope in fortie Articles, and of those fortie Articles, they agréed betwéne themselues in nine and thirtie: So that there is but one betwene them in controuersie. Wherfore (sayeth he) both parts muste endeuor themselues mutually to bēd their minds: force first of al against the Pope, that he being once ouercome, they may seriously togither consider, confer, and

come to agrément, in that article in contrenersie: and so the Churche at the lengthe may be brought to his former puritie.

But the Constable when the Quéene and king of *Nauar* were made frendes, obteyned great fauour on bothe sydes, perswading himselfe that he had not ben a little beneficiall to both of them: by this meanes he was verie familiar with them bothe. But when he saw that in Lent flesh was commonly eaten, and openly bought and solde: and that there were sermons openly preached in the prince of *Condes* chamber: & heard also the Quéen openly say, that it was the kings pleasure and hirs also, that there should be godly Sermons euery day in the kings house, he began to suspecte that the king of *Nauarre* and the Quéen had secretly agreed together concerning religion. And there preached before the kyng one Ianus Monlucius, Bishop of *Valentine*, at whose preaching the Constable and the duke of Guise were neuer but once: and the Constable being verie angrie with the bishop of *Valentine*, sayde that it was inough for him to come once and no more to suche a matter. To whom the Bishop sayd, that he prayed God that his worde might profite and take place euery where. The day following, the Constable and the Duke of Guise went together to a sermon of a certaine Monke, and from that tyme their myndes began to be alienated and drawne away. After which tyme the Constable was angrie with the Admirall his nephew openly, bicause he did freely and publikely professe the Gospel. And the wife of the Constable greatly pricked him forward to this euill, who was greatly offended that the familie and flocke of the Chastillion should bée aduaunced, hir brother the Earle Villarius being not in that estimation that she would haue had him. Therfore she moued & prouoked him wyth these pickes, saying, that the Admirall wente aboute to depriue him of that benefite which the Quéne had bestowed vpon him: that he did instatly persuade the Quéne to promote & set

The Constable is drawn away frō the prince of Conde, and from others of the reformed Churche.

set forth ỳ true religiõ, for the king of *Nauars* sake: ỳ the Cõstable ought not to suffer ỳ authoritie of the church of Rome to be diminished, he being not onely the chiefe officer of the king, but also such a one as had his original & offspring of the firste Christian of the kingdome of Fraunce, as the poesie of his armes did verie well testifie, whiche was this: *Protegat Deus primum Christianum*: that is, God defende the firste christian. Also the Marshall Santandræ, a suttle, craftie and malicious man, blew in his eare that by the suttle procurement of the Admirall, he was put vp by the assemblie of States to be a bryber and an extorcioner.

By thys meanes he thoughte to skape him: for he feared that the Constable would not easily be brought to their wicked religion, except it were by these persuasions. Therfore he procæded, saying, that he whiche came of so noble a stock and hadde done suche worthie and notable seruice in the kyngdome of *Fraunce*, gouernyng the kingdome forty yeares, oughte not to suffer newe religions to be brought in, to the harte of the catholike churche.

The lyke persuasions also vsed the Earle Villarius hys wyues brother, bearing no lesse spite and malice agaynste the Admirall than his sister did: and that bycause hee vnderstode, that the Admirall did dispryse before those of the kings priuie counsell that whiche he had done in *Narbon* against Religion. Therfore they withdrewe the Constable all that they coulde. The whiche thyng Marshall Monorentius fearing, and forefeeing a daungerous tempest lyke to aryse by the meanes of these dissentions, hee shewed to his father the Constable so muche as he could, what he thought nedefull to be done. And least he shoulde be drawne awaye from the greatest parte of his strength, leaste he shoulde chaunge awaye certaine frendship for that which was vncertain: and leaste he should ioyne hymself with newe reconciled frendes, he repeated vnto him their olde enmities and fallings out. Adding moreouer, that hee

shoulde peruerte and ouerthrowe the greatest foundations of his flocke and kinred, when he shoulde alienate and withdraw himselfe from the Prince of *Conde*, from the Chastillions, from the Earle of *Rupefocaldensis*, and from the rest which professe the reformed Religion: beside this, he shoulde lose thereby the good will and fauor of the king of *Nauarre*, and peraduenture the Quenes fauoure to. It is better (sayeth hee) to suffer the Chastillions and the Guises to contende togyther, than for you to take parte, and yet neuertheleese you shall keepe youre sayethe. Affirming also, that yf the Guyses were ouercome (as it is moste likely, bycause they haue procured the hatred of all the assemblies, agaynste themselues) then shoulde his prudence, experience, and goodnesse bring to passe, that he shoulde be a moderatour and a iudge of the reformation of the Churche: the errours of the whiche Churche he ought not to defend, bycause he was the chiefe officer vnder the King, and the successour also of the firste Christian that was in *Fraunce*.

Also he sayde, that he ought not to count it an iniurie that mencion was made of hym by those that were of the Assemblie at *Paris*, seing that he had done nothing but by the authoritie of Kings, and of the highest powers: and seing also that he hadde receyued so little of kyng Henrye, that there was no manne but hee woulde iudge hym worthie of greater rewardes, bothe in consideration of the office, whyche hee had so long, and also for the money whiche hee bestowed in the Kings seruice. Moreouer, hee sayde, that it appeared by the Bookes of accompte, that the gyftes whyche the kyng gaue hym, were not so muche by the seuenth parte as those giftes were, whiche were bestowed vpon the Marshal Santandræ, so farre they were from being compared with the Guises gifts, and with the giftes of the Ducheese of *Valentien*.

To these persuasions onely of Momorentius, the Constable made answer, saying, That Religion coulde not be altered

altered without the mutation of the state, & ciuil regiment: that he was a faithfull seruant of the king, and of his brethren also: that he feared not to be found guiltie: that notwithstanding he woulde not suffer the actes and deedes of the kynge deceassed to be reproued, and disalowed: That hee despred that hys nephewes the Chastillions might be so good Christians in verie deede, as they seemed to bee in woordes: also that hee dyd willingly forgiue those that had offended him whatsoeuer they had done.

After this verie shortly, the Chastillions, Odetus the Cardinal, the Admiral, the Andelot, came oftentimes vnto him, protesting that they bare no hatred in their heartes agaynst the Guises, but went only about to frustrate their practizes and deuyses, whiche (as it euidently appeared) tended both to their destruction, and of the realme also. Whome the Constable (saye they) oughte to resiste aboue all others. But they persuaded in vayne: for his mynd was drawne awaye, and was linked in the frendship of the Guyses, by diuers that allured him therto.

Thus dissentiõs grew dayly more and more by the meanes of Religion, and openly burste forthe: insomuche that both partes sought to iniurie and to reproche one another, the fauourers of the Popes doctrine, calling the professours of the Gospell, Huguenotes: and the Protestantes callyng them againe Papistes. Hereupon came a rumour abroade of Seditions, the Popes chaplains in their Sermons moning and pricking the people forward to the same. Wherfore the king sent his letters to the Magistrates of euerye Prouince: the summe and effect wherof was:

That no man shoulde call another contumeliously by the name of Huguenot or Papist: that no man shuld abuse that honest libertie which euery mã ought to enioy, either in his own house, or whẽ he is in his frends house: that no mã shuld enter either with gret or smal nũber vpõ other mẽs houses, vnder pretẽce of the former edicts which prohibited & forbad vnlauful assem- The kings Letters.

assemblyes. That they which were kept in bondes for Religions sake, should be by and by deliuered and set at libertie, before the first Edicte made for their deliueraunce. That they which had fled the Realme for Religions sake, shoulde haue leaue to returne home againe, with full and safe libertie to enioy their goods and al things else that they had before, so that they would be contented to liue Catholikely and without offence. But if they would not, that it should be lawful for them to sell their goods and to get them to another place.

These letters, the Senate of *Paris* went aboute to let and stay, but in vaine: neither could their admonitions (as they term them) which they sent to ỹ king, preuaile so much, but that these letters wer euery where published abrode, which also almost in euery place were diligently obserued. They were deliuered which were kepte in prison for Religion. And many, which for the Gospell wyllingly chose to lyue in exile in other landes, retourning nowe home agayne, greatly increased the Churche: The Churche more and more flourished, the Gospell was confirmed: All menne, as though they had quite forgotten all other things, talked onely of the Gospell: Euery one of what estate and degree soeuer he was of, only reasoned of the Gospell: Sermons were made euery where both in the Cities and in the fieldes: All men diligently resorted to heare them: yea the verie rude and ignorant sort of people, because of the newnesse of the thing, came also to heare them of which a great number by this meanes were brought to the knowledge of God. But the aduersaries, they stode amazed, wondering and musing at so great a matter: The seruice of ancient ceremonies began euery where to waxe colde, yea and in manis places to be derided: yea verie manie casting asyde the Popes badges and markes, came into the Churches of the faithfull, and were made as one with them. So greate alterations came to passe in so little a tyme.

The Prince of *Conde*, (as we haue declared before) came to

to *Paris*, that his innocēcie and guiltlesnesse might be farther tried by the Senate. He therfore, the Cardinall of *Burbon*, and many other noble menne attending vpon him, pleaded with the Senate of *Paris*, concerning this matter as followeth: manie men marueling that he was thus dealt withall. It is (sayth he) a special token of Gods prouidence, by whiche I beeing deliuered from the platformes and secrete traps of my enimies, shall get vnto my selfe an euerlasting testimonie of my innocencie in those thynges layde to my charge. The lying in wait and mischeuous practizes of wicked men, do nothing at all hurt those which haue their hope & trust in God. I haue always wished that my cause might be throughly wayghed and vnderstode of the Senate, which is the moste notable place in Fraunce for the executing of Iustice. I should (sayth he) be iniurious to my self, vnlesse I should bring the equitie and integritie of my cause againste the slaunders of my aduersaries, before so worthy an assemblie, that the matter being worthie of the laudable and honorable sentence of the Senate, may by the grauitie and vpright iudgemēt of the same be defined and ended. Wherfore he prayed them to consider of his estimation, whiche to hym was more deare than his lyfe. Then when he had required of the Senate that Petrus Robertus his man of lawe might be peaceably and quietly hearde in making his declaration, he so departed.

Then Petrus Robertus by and by made his oration, saying, That it hadde pleased God to trie the Prince of *Conde* with that triall of affliction, with which he doth oftentimes trie his faithful seruāts, which affliction he doth oftentimes sende to those that are his, but specially to those that are set in high degrée, and that for two speciall causes: First, that Kings and Princes, and men of great calling might know that they haue their power & dignitie from God alone, vpon whō dependeth eyther their preseruation or destruction. Secondly, that the innocencie of his seruantes maye more euidently appere, by false accusation, & that by that meanes

The oration of Petrus Robertus, the man of lawe for the Prince.

there may be perfect triall of their integritie.

When he had thus ſpoke, he declared what things were wrought againſt the Prince at *Aurelia*, howe his appeales were not receiued, howe he was condemned his cauſe not heard: and therfore he ſayd, that the ſentence pronounced agaynſt him was voyd and of none effect. At the length whē many things were debated & reaſoned of betwene hym and the Kings Sollicitour, it was concluded: That all matters that had ben broughte in agaynſt the Prince, ſhould be referred to the Senate: And if nothing could be found that ſhould deſerue or require an extraordinarie waye, then by and by the Senate ſhould pronounce the ful and abſolute ſentence of abſolution and diſcharge: But if the Senate ſhould find any matter of greater weight, that then it ſhuld be lawful before thoſe teſtimonies and proofes were receiued and credited, to examine the witneſſes again, and to conſider the matter more depely: and that the ſentence pronounced by the former Iudges ſhould be voyd, ſeing that it appertained to the Senate alone, (which is the court appertaining to the king & to the nobles of France) to examine and iudge the cauſes of the kings kinſmen, if any criminall cauſe were obiected againſt them.

The concluſion of the Senate of Paris.

The which point Petrus Robertus the prince of *Conde* his aduocate, expounded and opened at large: leaſt the Prince ſhoulde ſeeme by the weakneſſe of his cauſe to forſake that former iudgemente of the iudges whiche were choſen by king Frances the ſecond, of purpoſe to giue ſentence on him. He declared therfore, that the Prince did refuſe thoſe iudges, becauſe they were far vnmete to iudge him: beſides that ſo it ſhould haue ben preiudicial to ỹ priuilege & right of the princes, ỹ kings kinſmen, for that they being accuſed of any matter, maye appeale to be iudged of the king only their chiefe lord, and the head of their ſtock, in the Senate of *Paris*.

To this the kings ſolicitor anſwered, That he did not only allow the ſentence of the kings priuie councel, cōcerning the innocencie of the Prince of *Conde*, but alſo earneſtly deſired

ſtred that the ſame mighte be ratified and confirmed by the iudgement of a parliament: notwithſtanding ſaith he, the ſame muſt be eſtabliſhed by an ordinarie and lawful way.

Therfore the Prince of *Conde* was made playntiue, and the Kings Solicitour the defendant: and it was concluded, That for ſomuche as the Prince of *Conde* was put vpon his further triall & purgation, the whole aſſemblie of the Senate houſe would receyue any manner of accuſation to bee made againſt the Prince of *Conde*, and duly conſider of the ſame: to the ende if nothing could be brought againſt him wherby he myght be founde guiltie, he myght ſtraightwaye by publike ſentence, be declared and pronounced to be innocent and guiltleſſe. Wherefore all the Senatours commaunded, that if any man had any manner of accuſation againſt the Prince of *Conde*, he ſhould come into the Senats houſe, and then he ſhoulde be hearde. Yea euery one of the priuie Counceil were aſked by name if they had anything to obiect againſt the Prince of *Conde*: Who affirmed in generall by a ſolemne othe that they had nothing to obiecte againſt him.

Then was ỳ final ſentẽce of the Senat giuen in maner & forme folowing, that is to ſay, That the Prince of *Conde* had done nothing againſt the kings Maieſtie, but was pure, innocent, and guiltleſſe of all thoſe crimes layd to his charge: that all actions commenſed againſt him were voyde. Alſo that he ſhould haue libertie to arreſt and ſue whom he thought good, that hee myght bee ſatisfied according to the dignitie of his perſon. VVith prouiſo alſo that this decree ſhoulde be proclaymed in the hygheſt Courtes of the king, and regiſtred in publike Recordes. The decree of the Senate concerning the innocencie of the Prince.

Thys ordinaunce and decrée was pronounced and openly read by the chiefe iudge of the Senate, the gates of the Senate houſe beeing ſet wyde open, and all the Senatours aſſembled together ſolemnely apparelled in their Scarlet Roabes, accordyng to order. And alſo at the Readyng

hereof, there was a great multitude of people, and the greateſt part of the Nobilitie of *Fraunce*, as the kyng of *Nauarre*, the Cardinall Burbon, Monpenſier, and others of the Princes the kinges kinſmeune: and with theſe alſo were preſent the Dukes of Guiſe, Nemoroſius, the Conſtable, Momorentius, the Marſhall of Santandræ, the Cardinal of *Lorrayn*, and the Chaſtillion. Others alſo, which were accuſed for the ſame cauſe with the prince of *Conde*, receiued the ſentence of their purgation openly read.

And vndoubtedly, the Prince of *Conde* alwayes denyed, that he was the author, or of the counſell of that tumult of Ambaxian, howſoeuer the Guiſes maliciouſly interpreted that counſell and way which was deuiſed to kepe them vnder, to be intended againſt the kings maieſtie, and the ſtate of the realme.

By theſe and ſuch like practizes, thoſe two brethren the Guyſes inflamed the yong king Frances againſt the men of Burbon, leauing nothing vndone that might ſeeme to proue their accuſations. Accuſers were diligently ſought for, and matters of accuſation inquired after: By gifts & by threatnings all things were attempted. And in the iudgement of the Prince of *Conde*, they leaned ſpecially to one witneſſe, whoſe name was Sagua, a ſeruant of the kyng of *Nauar*, of whom we haue made mention before. That Sagua being taken and apprehended by the Guiſes, was diligently examined concerning the Prince of *Conde*, if he knewe whether he had conſpired againſt the king or no. Sagua at the firſt denied this, ſaying that he knew no ſuche matter. But at the length Frances the duke of Guyſe brought it to paſſe, (hauing with him a hangman and a halter) by threatning death vnto him except he would plainly accuſe the Prince of *Conde* of conſpiracie againſt the king. But at the length being eſcaped out of the Guyſes hands, he moſt conſtantly ſayd both by word and writing, that the accuſation againſt the prince of *Conde* was extorted from him by force.

This

This publike sentence therfore of the Senate toke away from the Prince of *Conde*, that spite and slaunder wherby he was sayd and thought to be guiltie of the tumult of Ambaxian. But if the sentence of the Senate had not clered and purged him, yet the effect and sequele of that whiche followed, maye be sufficient to approue that he neuer conspired against the king: As his only studie and moste vndoubted good will in defending the young king and the realme also, being in great perill, from the mischiefe and lyings in wait of forrain enimies. The which he would neuer haue don, if he had intended to hurt the king any maner of way.

The complaint of the Cardinal of Lorrayn.

The Cardinall of *Lorrayn* complayned to the Quéne that the matter was euery dayes worse and worse, and that the people presumed and toke too much libertie vpon the kings Edictes, and also that the negligence and carelesnesse of the Iudges increased more and more: affirming that there was no wiser way to be found, than in suche troublesome matters, to take counsell of the Senate of *Paris*. (It was reported that he went about this thing, being assured and certified before of many of the mindes of the Senatours, that by this preiudice he myghte helpe the Nationall Councell shortly at hande.)

Therefore the King and the Quéne and all the priuie Councell came vnto the Senate to deliberate wyth them of those matters whiche appertayned to Religion, and the gouernement of the realme. The Chauncellor briefly declared, that they wer therfore called togither by the kings commandement, that they might shewe certaine ready and exquisite wayes to qualifie those perturbations and troubles, whiche would euery day more and more increase by reason of the diuersitie of Religion: to the ende the kings subiects might peaceably lyue vnder his obedience. To the which matter (he sayd) it pertained nothing at al to talke of religiõ, bicause the ciuil gouernmẽt was only now in hand: as for religion (he sayd) it should be reserued to be handled

in the Nationall Councell, to whome it belonged to discusse the same. When the Chauncellour had ended his oration, every man spake his iudgement: Some wishing punishements for religions sake to be stayde, vntil the Councel had determined of the same: Other some wyshing to haue punishment by death, which was contrarie to the ancient constitutions of the Bishops of *Rome*. Other some deeming it best to haue the whole matter left to the authoritie of Ecclesiastical iurisdiction: In the meane tyme they thought good to forbid, that there should be no conuenticles or assemblies either priuate or publike, eyther with armes, or without armes: also that there shuld be no sermons, or administrations of Sacraments otherwyse than according to the vsuall maner of the Church of *Rome*. And thus the whole assemblie were deuided into three seuerall opinions. Verie many were of the first opinion: howbeit the last opinion and aduise preuayled, hauyng three voyces more than the other had, for the whych cause, there arose contention, many men suspecting that the Notarie being corrupted, wrought deceytfully, reckoning the names of some whiche came vnlooked for, whyle the assemblie were vttering their opinions: the whiche was againste all order and custome of the Senate. Nevertheless there was an Edicte made, whyche was called, the Edicte of Julye. The effecte whereof, was thys.

1.

2.

3.

An Edict called of the Moneth of Iuly.

That all men should liue peaceably: that there shouled bee no iniuries doone vnder the pretence of religion: That all disturbers and breakers of the peace shoulde suffer death: that there should be in no wyse any maner of elections, or any other things, which pertayned to factions or diuisions: That preachers should vse no wordes of offence that myght breed sedition among the people, but shuld rather modestly instruct them, and that also vnder payn of death: That ther should be no sermons made, or sacraments ministred either priuatly or publikely, either with armes, or without armes, after any o-

The summe of the edict.

ther

ther maner than that which was vſed in the catholike Church ſet forth by the king and his clergie of France, & that vnder the pain of death & confiſcation of all their goods, which offended herein. Alſo, that the knowledge and examination of hereſie ſhould be left to Eccleſiaſticall perſons: and that whoſoeuer was found guiltie therof, ſhould be committed to the ſecular power, and ſuſteine no other puniſhement than exile. All theſe thinges to continue vntill the determination of a generall or Nationall counſell: Pardon and full forgiueneſſe of all crimes for religions ſake being graunted to thoſe that hadde offended, vpon condition that they woulde euer afterwarde liue peaceably and catholikely. Beſides there was in this Edicte ſeuere puniſhments appoynted for falſe accuſers. And laſt of all ſtrayte commaundement that no man ſhoulde weare armour.

It was alſo agréed and concluded in this aſſemblie, that the Prelatie or Clergie ſhoulde be forthwith gathered together, and alſo the miniſters of the reformed Religion, being waranted from the king to come withoute harme in peace to that aſſemblie. The Cardinall of *Lorrain* bragged, that he would confute them by the authoritie of the auncient fathers, and ſo made many men to hope to ſée wonders. Therefore the Quéene ſéeking to haſten this triumphe, and fearing leaſt the States of the realme woulde once againe make requeſt to haue Temples, gaue forthe commaundement, that the Clergie of the Churche of Fraunce ſhoulde be at the towne of *Poſſiac*, nére to *Sangerman*, the tenth day of Auguſt following.

Fraunce béeyng in the middeſt of theſe troubles, there was warre alſo aboute that tyme: occaſioned by the meanes of Religion, betweene the Duke of *Sabaudia*, and the Inhabitauntes of the Valleys of *Pedemount*, of the whiche to make relation, béeing occaſioned for one and the ſelfe ſame cauſe, and in the nexte region, it ſhall not be greately beſide our purpoſe.

Pede-

Pedamount nére vnto the mountayne *Veſulus*, is called the valey of *Lucern*, of a little towne called *Lucerna*, nére adioyning to the ſame: To this there is alſo an other adioyning called *Angronia*, ſo called of the Riuer *Angrone*, nére to the which the valeys of *Peroſſa* and *Sammartine* doe lye. Thoſe valleys haue dwelling in them fiftene thouſande inhabitants. Of which number the greateſt part profeſſe the Goſpell: alſo, there were ſome in thoſe places long agoe, which abhorring the Pope and his doctrin, had ſome knowledge and taſte of true religion. But after that the lyght of the truth in our tyme braſt forthe and more clérely appeared, than it had done before, it began alſo more clérely to ſhine in thoſe valeys. Therfore when they were better inſtructed in the doctrine of the Goſpell, then did they more vehemently profeſſe the truthe: and that ſpecially in two little townes aboue the reſt, where the ſame was openly profeſſed. Theſe men of the valleys had many noble men appoynted to rule and gouerne them: but among the reſte, they acknowledge the duke of *Sabaudia*, their chiefe Prince and gouernour. Therfore theſe inhabitauntes being hated for religions ſake of the noble men that dwelt about them, were diuers and ſundrie wayes by them vexed. And their chiefe Prince the duke of *Sabaudia* was ſore agréeued, that Religion began to flouriſh among them: in ſomuch that he oftentimes cõmanded them to forſake the religion: and to warne their miniſters to receyue the Maſſe and the auncient religion, otherwiſe he threatned them cruelly to puniſh them as rebels. They being carefull by reaſon of theſe new commaundements, ſende at lengthe their Ambaſſadour to the Prince with a ſupplication and confeſſion of their faith, proteſting that they beléeue all things conteyned in the old and newe Teſtament, the articles of the Chriſtian fayth, called Symbolum Apoſtolorum, the Nicene Créde, and the Créde of Athanaſius: alſo the foure firſte Councelles, and the doctrine of the auncient Fathers, ſo farre forth as they

Warres betwene the duke of Sabaudia, and the inhabitants of the valeys.

agrée

with the worde of God. Humbly beseching him to giue them leaue to liue according to the rule of Gods worde, and not to constraine them to doe any thing against their conscience, affirming that they were readie not onelye to giue an account of their Religion, but also to acknowledge and confesse their error if they might be brought vnto it by ỹ worde of God. Adding herevnto that this doctrine had continued a long time among them, as they coulde well approue by great testimonyes receiued from their ancetors. Desiring him also to inquire how they behaued them selues towards their gouerners, and in what order they lined: protesting that their only desire was to render vnto him all obedience as vnto their chiefe Lord and Prince, and that if they should be founde otherwise, to be sharpely and seuerely punished. This was the effecte of their ambassage to the Duke, but it did nothing at all preuaile. For the Duke gaue strait commaundement that no man should come or resort to those sermons which the Ministers of the inhabitantes of ỹ valleys made: if any did resorte vnto them, their first punishment was the losse or forfeiture of. 100. Crownes, and the seconde punishment was to be a Galley slaue. He commaunded also all the Nobles and Magistrates that had authoritie to punishe, seuerely to execute the same againste the offenders. Therfore the Noble men began to ware fierce against the inhabitantes of the valleys: in so much that when they had taken certaine of them, they burnte them: among whome were two preachers of Gods worde. All men vsed violence against the mẽ of the valleys, euen as if they had been mortall enimyes: great damage and hurte was done to them: and those which dwelt about them, making an armie made hauocke of them and spoyled them. The men of the valleys were contented with all this iniurie, and by the exhortations of their Ministers and preachers bare these things patiently for a time. But at the length being ouerladen and wearied with these troubles, they purposed to defend them-

The Edict against the inhabitants of the valleys.

selues, in so much that they slew many of them which came to pray and spoile them. Whereupon the Duke gaue forth a commaundement that they should leaue off to spoile them any more: and sent vnto them Ranconensis and Trinæus two of his gentlemen, to intreate them friendly. Notwithstanding they returned home againe as they came, because they would haue bounde them to sende away their Ministers and Preachers. The Duke being angrye with this, intended to make open warre against them. Whereupon he sente againste them Trinæus with fiue thousande souldiers (the greatest parte whereof were gunners, and some horsemen) commaundyng hym that except the men of the valleys would doe as they were commaunded, he should deale with them as with mortall enimyes, to spoile their goods and to put them to fire and sworde.

Ranconensis & Trinæus.

First of all therefore Trinæus assaulted *Agronia*, with a thousand and a halfe of gunners: certayne of the Townesmen to the number of thirtie being slenderly armed with slynges and Crosbowes, straighte waye went against them, and withstandyng the firste fronts of the armie, were straite way rescued with two hundered oute of the valleys adioyning vnto them: and so by and by they put their enimyes to flight, and slewe three score of them, three of their owne side onely being lacking.

When Trinæus sawe that he had assaulted *Agronia* in vaine, he assaulted the villages thereabout as *Comba* and *Tegliaret*: but at their handes he receiued the repulse also with losse of thirtie of his men. Seyng therefore howe hardly he should obtaine his purpose, and that he little preuayled by open violence, he sought to practise by subtiltie and crafte. And sent to the inhabitantes of the valleys, promising them peace, if they would vnarme them selues, sende men to the Duke to craue pardon for their rebellion, and gyue vnto hym sixtene thousande Crownes. The people desyring peace and to bee eased of all their troubles, easilye yelded to

these

theſe conditions. And ſente choſen men for the purpoſe to Trinitæus, ſaying that they woulde fulfyll his commaundement: and ſo they put off their armoure, which by and by was taken from them by the ſouldiers. They ſente in lyke maner in their owne name to the Duke two men to confirme the obedience of the people vnto hym by an othe, ſo that they might haue libertie to vſe their Religion. In the meane time there was a great ſumme of money required, the one halfe beyng payed, and a daye appoynted for the payment of the other halfe. Within fewe dayes after the Duke ſente for the two Legates of the valleys, and the Popes Legate ſitting by him, and a great multitude of people beyng preſent, commaunded them, kneeling on theyr knees, in the name, and on the behalfe of the inhabitantes of the valleys, to confeſſe their faultes, and to craue pardon for the ſame: firſte of the Duke, and then of the Pope in the perſon of hys Legate there preſente: and to ſweare both of them euer afterward to be loyal and obedient. This thing beyng extorted from the Legates by feare, the Duke by the meanes of theſe promyſes, commaunded the men of the valleys to put awaye their Miniſters, and to receyue ſuche as he ſente vnto them, and to come to the Maſſe. The inhabitantes of the valleys, blamed the inconſtancie of their ambaſſadors, ſaying that the ſame ſhuld not deceyue them, neither that they woulde conſente vnto that which they had donne, beyng agaynſte theyr wils and commaundemente. They woulde (they ſayde) obey theyr Prince, but ſo notwithſtanding that they woulde haue the libertie of their conſcience.

Wherfore they deſired that they might haue leaue to exerciſe that doctrine which before time they had followed. Soone as the Duke hearde of this, he ſent an armye againe, and that in the deepe of Winter, inuading all the countrey, burning houſes, ſpoiling goods and Cattells, and ſhewing ſo much cruelties as might be.

The men of the valleys therefore being constrained, forsoke their houses, and fled to the toppes of the Mountaines with their wiues and children, beyng couered with snowe. From thence they sawe their houses on fire, their trées cut downe, their cattell taken away and spoyled. And yet for all this euery one of them, yea euẽ their women shed no teares for the same, but gaue prayses vnto God who had made thẽ worthie to suffer for his name, and had made their houses ashes to throwe in the eyes of Antichrist. Therefore when they sawe whereabout their enimyes went, they dispayred not in the middest of so great affliction, but made their prayers vnto God: and sayde with one mind and consent, that in so iuste a cause they would spende their liues, thinking it better to dye than to receiue such horrible superstitions, beyng fully perswaded, that in so good and iust a cause God woulde not fayle them. And thus they bended them selues to séeke their owne defence: appointing scoutes and watches in certaine conuenient places, making certaine holdes: stopping the wayes against their enimyes: and setting all thynges that was necessarye for them in so good order as they coulde. There was therefore dayly skirmishes on bothe sides, and within a fewe dayes there were a hundred men slaine on the Dukes side, and on the other side not forty. Among other valiant Captaines there was one called Carolus Truchetus, a very expert fellow in the warre, and of great estimation and authoritie with the Duke. This fellowe sought how he might win the Castles and holdes of their enimyes, and therefore by the skill of the places and by the knowledge that he had of their situation, he brought to passe by cõming on the backe side of the mountaine, that he brought a thousand souldiers and placed them on the ridge of a hill: and hauing quietly possessed the same, he put his souldiers in comfort to haue the pray: and after he had fortified the same, he made hast to win another holde. Of the which, when many were ware that kept a little hill harde by, they tolde the rest

of

of their fellowes: of the which, part went to repell their enimyes: and parte with all spæde gaue warning to all those that dwelt there rounde about, with the sounde of a Trumpet. And at the laste two hundred men being gathered together, they easilye put their enimyes to flight. And making haste to remoue those souldiers which were placed on the top of the hill, they sawe certaine troupes of their enimyes making haste to get a forte nere vnto them of great force. Therfore when they had altered their purpose, leauing their former assault which they had ment to giue against those on the ridge of the hill, they made haste to encounter with the other part: and setting vpon them before they were readye, they slew many of their enimyes, and had made a greater slaughter, had not a certaine preacher of Gods word by his admonitions stayed their force. But Truchetus being strickē with a stone on the legge, was caryed away by two souldiers. The which when a certain Cowheard which fed oxen there saw, he threw a stone at him with a sling, with so great violence, that he falling to the ground, and being lefte of his souldiers, was slaine with his owne sworde by the same Cowhearde. And nowe for wante of Gunnes, the men of the valleys had made them crossebowes of wood, which would deliuer stones with great force: and therefore the men of *Sabaudia* being on the lower ground were very muche anoyed with this newe kinde of shoting. Wherefore the men of *Sabaudia*, to saue thē selues from the force and violence of the stones that were thus shot at them, deuised great Targets, with which they might couer their whole bodyes. Therefore they sending before them forthe men shielding them and defending them frō the force of the stones with their Targets, marched on in haste with all their armies.

The slaughter of Truchetus.

The which when the men of the valleys perceyued, they set vpon them on the one side, and slewe many of them, and put all their armies to flight. And at the length the enimyes vnlooked for, toke the towne *Taglaretus*, and there some were

ſaine. But they which were on ẏ edges of the mountaines, ſet vpon the enimyes, & ſlewe many of them, & put the reſt to flighte. And thus Trinitæus hauing no hope to prꝛeuaile by wars againſt theſe mẽ, certified the Duke what a hard matter he had taken in hand. Afterward the men of the valleys were called to parley, with whom theſe couenantes were made, namely, That they ſhoulde vſe their accuſtomed exercyſes of Religion: that they ſhould by no maner of meanes be accuſed or called to account for this warre: that they ſhoulde haue free libertie and intercourſe to bie and ſell through all parts of the Dukes dominion: that they ſhuld render vnto the Duke all dutie and obedience belonging vnto him: that they alſo ſhould liue without offence. There were diuers other particular matters, which becauſe they ſerue not for our purpoſe, we omit.

The agrement and truce betweene the Duke of Sabaudia & the inhabitants of the valleys.

Perſecution in Spaine.

While theſe things were thus handled, Philip king of *Spaine*, on the other ſide, left nothing vndone to punithe & vex with all maner of tꝛoments, ſo many as imbꝛaced the Goſpel in any part of his dominiõs but ſpecially in *Spaine*, & *Belgio*, the murdering inquiſitiõ in euery ꝓlace moſt cruelly was exꝛecuted: the houſes in the which the faithfull came together were burned: they which were taken were ſpedilye put to death, ſome being burned, ſome dꝛowned, & ſome tꝛomented with new kinds of death: yea, there was no reſpect of perſõs had, were he pꝛe oꝛ rich, gentlemã oꝛ noble mã, he was not fꝛee fꝛõ theſe tꝛoments. The king being greatly inflamed & pꝛicked fꝛoward herevnto by ẏ Cardinall Granuellan, who a little befoꝛe was made Cardinall in *Belgio*, at the creation of new biſhops. Neuertheleſſe the faithfull of ẏ pꝛſecuted churches offer their confeſſiõ to the king of *Spaine*, and publiſh the ſame euery where abꝛode: & by publique wꝛiting open their cauſe to the magiſtrates, ſhew how iniurious a thing it is to condemne a man befoꝛe his cauſe be heard, beſeech that they might haue libertie to be heard, that their confeſſiõ might be read, which would manifeſtly declare ẏ they were vniuſtly con-

He might rather be called Granvillan, or greate villane.

The confeſsiõ of the Church of Flanders offered to the King.

condemned: these troubles (say they) do arise of two sorts of men. The first are such as are led by rashe & vndiscrete zeale to defend their errors, which haue long time continued in the Romish Church: The second are such as are afeard to haue the Gospell preuaile, bicause they know ỳ the doctrine therof reproueth their wicked doings & affections. It is great arrogancie to condemne those that leane to ỳ worde of God, & to prefer the inuentions of mẽ before the same. Wherfore they desire ỳ before they be cõdẽned they might be cõuinced by ỳ word of God, & that the disputatiõ might not be with fire and sword, for (say they) the word of God is the vndoubted & certaine rule of truth. But this was the sum of their confession. We beleue in one true God, which by his glorious names & titles, may be discerned frõ false & counterfeite Gods: which may also be knowne by that most mighty worke of ỳ whole world, but specially by his word: we also imbrace & receiue the only word of God by faith, not so much, bicause ỳ Church receiueth the same, but bicause it is sealed in ỳ hartes of the faithful by the holy ghost. We beleue that one God in essẽce is distinguished into three persons, which are, the father, the sonne, & the holy Ghost, reserving notwithstanding to euery persõ his special propertie. We beleue that God which hath created the worlde doth gouerne & preserue the same by his prouidence. We beleue that he created man after his owne image & likenesse, ỳ is to say, holy, good, & perfect: & that he fell by his owne faulte, & hath wrapped his posteritie in ỳ same guiltinesse of sinne, & corruptiõ, that he him selfe was in. We beleue ỳ Iesus Christ, both God and man in one person, is a true mediator, & the onely meane & way to saluation.

Papistes.

Newters.

We beleue that he beyng promysed long before vnto the Fathers, and representeed and shadowed vnder the Ceremonyes and sygures of the lawe, came in his time, and fulfilled all things that pertayned to oure saluation: and that without greate sacrilege and robbing him of his honor, no other meane can be taken: also that the faithful are partakers

of

of these benefites, which are the Church of God, which is gouerned by the holy ghost, and not tyed to places or persons.

We beleeue that the pure and sincere preaching of Gods worde, the pure Ministration of the sacraments, and the discipline, by the which the Churche is gouerned according to the rule of Gods worde, are notes and markes of the visible Churche.

We beleeue that the Sacraments were ordained to confirme our faith, and doe then profite when they are ioyned to the power of the holy Ghost.

We beleeue that there doe belong onely two sacraments to the Church: namely Baptisme, which is a seale of remission of sinnes, and of our regeneration, and therefore a testimonie of our entrance into the Churche: And the Lords supper, which signifieth that we are truely made partakers of the body of Christ, and of all his graces and benefites, that is to saye, that oure soules are nourished to euerlasting life by his flesh and bloude, euen as our bodyes are nourished with breade and wine: but we muste bring faith to receiue the truth of that Sacrament, that is to say Christ: therefore we beleeue that the Lords Supper doth only profite the faithfull, & bringeth to the vnworthie, that is, to the vnbeleeuing, condemnation.

We beleeue that God to defende and preserue the societie of men, hath ordayned lawes and politique gouernement, which al men ought to obey: & that tributes, custome, and other taxes ought to be payed to Magistrates, who ought to be reuerenced, and for whome we ought to pray vnto God.

We beleeue also that Christ shall come againe with al power, maiestie and glory, in the latter day to iudge the quicke and the dead. Thus much concerning their persecution.

But now to returne to our selues againe.

When the Duke of Guise had bene at no small variance with the Prince of *Conde*, he purposed with himselfe, partlye by his owne mind, in hope of profite & partly by the Counsel

of

of his friends, to come into his fauour and friendship again, the Queene and the Constable, exhorting him thervnto and helping him to haue hys purpose. Therefore the King, when he had called the Priuie Councell together and all the Princes beyng present, he called both of them before hym: and when the matter was opened, he commaunded the Duke of Guise to declare the whole matter to the Prince of *Conde*.

The reconciliation of the Prince of Cõde & the Duke of Guise.

The which the Duke of Guise did, protesting that he neuer caused nor counselled the King which was departed to apprehend the Prince of *Conde*. To which the Prince of *Conde* answered that he did counte him a wicked and naughtie person, which wente aboute to worke him that mischiefe, what so euer he was. The Duke of Guise sayde, that he thoughte him in lyke manner to be no lesse, but he coulde not helpe it. At the length by the Kings commaundement they embraced one another, and promysed to put away all grudge and malyce, and to be euer afterwarde true and faithfull friendes. This reconciliation gaue the Constable occasion more freely to ioyne him selfe and to kepe company with the Guises, and to begyn afreshe to suppresse Religion, the which he had alwayes obstinately resisted.

We sayde before that the assembly of States, or Courte of Parliament was delayed and put off vntill the moneth of May.

Therefore they reforted agayne in the moneth of August to *Pontosia* a towne in Picardie: and by and by there arose dissention betweene the Princes and the Cardinalls aboute the order of sitting: the Princes denying to sitte belowe the Cardinalls. Whereupon the Cardinals Turnon, Lorayne, and Guyse went away verye angry. But when the Carles and Nobles were gathered together, the Chauncelor proposed the matter according to custome, shewing the cause of their comming together, and willing euerye man freely to vtter that which he had to say.

Therefore the Legates or Speakers for the three estates

made their seuerall orations: in the which they spake much concerning the duetie of the King, and of the subiectes, and of those matters which are commonly handeled in Ciuill conuocations, the whiche we meane not to repeate, for because they appertaine not to our purpose. Notwithstanding this is not to be pretermitted, that the Legate for the communaltie complained very muche of the corruptions of Ecclesiasticall persons: because they ought to teach the people and to exhorte them both by their doctrine and also by their example to a pure and honest lyfe: but foule and filthy ignorance was among them, and their corrupte and vnchaste lyfe was a greate offence to all men. Moreouer he said, that they were byrelings, and carefull for nothing lesse than for doyng their duetes, but were wholly gyuen to filthy pleasure: and this thing (sayth he) ariseth hereof, for that they be more plentifully fedde and fatted, than their offices will beare: what hath beene the cause (sayth he) in tymes paste of all the corruptions in the Churche, but the to much ease and lyuing of Ecclesiasticall persons. Also he made petition in the name of the thirde state, whiche we call the communaltie, that the King would reforme these greate faultes, and would so temper and order the lyuings and reuenewes of Ecclesiasticall persons that they might not lyue to licentiously at their ease.

Moreouer he declared that it was the office of a King to take vpon hym the defence of religion, and because so many troubles daylye did arise for this cause throughout the whole Realme, he sayde it was a presents remedie to pacifie them, to call forthwith a Nationall Counsell, and to gyue to all men leaue to come vnder safe conducte: and that it would please the King also with the Princes hys kinsmen to be present at the same, and to call for learned and godly men to come to that parley, and also to remoue all those that might be suspected.

Furthermore that they whiche thinke that they can not

with

with a safe conscience come to the Ceremonyes of the Churche of *Rome*, myghte haue libertie freely and quietly to come together into some temple or other publique place, where they maye be taughte the worde of God in theyr vulgar tongue, and maye haue the rytes of their Religion Ministred.

And bycause many things maye be sayde to be done amisse in those assemblyes, he wished that the King woulde commaunde certaine of his officers to be presente in those assemblyes to se what shoulde be done.

Also he sayd, that they oughte not to be counted for heretikes whiche were condemned, their cause not hearde, but shoulde be tried and iudged by the worde of God.

Finallye, he made humble supplications that it woulde please the King to graunte suche reasonable requestes: the which also the Nobilitie with one consent required, but the Ecclesiasticall order or Clergie sought diligentlye by all meanes possible to defend their cause.

But to the ende it maye more plainely appeare what greate alterations haue happened within a shorte tyme, it shall not be amisse to repeate certayne things whiche were done in that assemblye concernyng matters Ciuill, and yet those things onely which also seeme to be more neere to Religion, the state wherof to shewe we meane. Certaine Ciuil actes worthy to be noted.

Therefore these remedyes were deuised to discharge the King of that debte and paymentes of money wyth the whiche he sayde before the King at that tyme was greatlye burthened: Firste, that they whiche had had the occupying of the Kyngs Treasure, shoulde come to accounte: In the meane tyme that so manye as were of the Kings priuye Counsell shoulde be forbydden to come into that assemblye, vntyll they hadde playnelye made theyr accountes: also that all shoulde make an accounte (the Quene onelye excepted) of all exceadyng giftes, rewardes, and doles.

That so manye as in their owne persons, did not discharge their Ecclesiasticall offices, should loose all their reuenewes sauyng some parte which should bee lefte them for the deuine seruice, and for almes deedes. That all the reuenewes of Benefices in controuersie should be brought to the kings Treasurie. That so many Benefices as had their pastors resident, if they were worthe fiue hundred pounde in money, should paye vnto the King the fourth parte: if they were worthe a thousande pounde, the thirde parte, if they were worth three thousande pounde, that then they should paye vnto the King the one halfe. Also that they which had in yearely reuenewes comming vnto them twelue thousande poundes, should haue onely remaining to them of the same, three thousande, and the reste to be payde to the King.

That from the Cartusian Fryers, the Minimi, the Mathurines, and the Moniakes should be taken all their reuenews that surmounted and came to more than would finde them ordinarie meate, drinke and clothe: bycause by the order of their rytes and vowe, they ought to haue no more.

Also (they saide) they had yet a better and more compendious way, and that was this: if all the landes of Ecclesiasticall persons belonging to their benefices and spirituall promotions, sauyng onely a house for the Bishop, Canon, Maister of the Colledge, or person to dwell in.

And of some parte of the money for the same, the Kings debtes should be payde, and the rest to be distributed to Ecclesiasticall persons that had more neede of the same. Also to the ende the king with the rest might perceyue howe profitable a way this would be, they declared that the reuenews of these ecclesiasticall landes woulde be worth fortie thousand pounde, and their proper liuing and remainder neuertheless twelue hundred thousand poundes. And they sayde that these lands would the sooner be solde because they were free from tribute, & were all most lords within themselues.

Adding moreouer ỹ Ecclesiasticall persons should sustaine no harme hereby: for they should neuertheleſſe haue inough to liue vpon, and the king of the ouerplus of those yearely reuenewes should both pay his debtes, and also haue euery yeare a great summe besides, towardes the maintayning of garrisons of souldiers, the fortifying of Cities, and other such lyke vses to the great profit and commoditie of the people. They made supplication in like maner that the Edict of July, of the which we made mention before and in the which the faithfull were forbydden to assemble themselues together, might be taken awaye: that also there might be vsed peaceable and quyet meanes in matters of Religion, and yet notwithstanding that no Heretikes, Libertines, Anabaptistes, Atheistes, and suche lyke seditious persons might be borne withal: And that there might be called out of hand a Nationall Councell to reforme the errors of Ecclesiasticall persons. Furthermore they requested that the King with his kinsmen the Princes woulde be at the counsell: that all men might haue frée libertie vnder the kings warrant to come to that conuocation: that they might haue Churches for the administration of their doctrine and Sacramentes, graunted vnto them, which affirme that they cannot with safe conscience come to the Ceremonies of the Romishe Churche: that they mighte openly and plainely professe and maintayne their Religion, and put awaye all occasions of slaunder and reproche.

Last of all they required, that all iurisdiction mighte be taken away from Ecclesiasticall persons, and restored to the King to whome the same truely appertayned: that Ecclesiasticall persons myghte haue no place in the Ciuill assemblyes of Parliamentes: and also that Ciuill or temporall persons mighte not haue benefices or spirituall promotions. Theſe things were spoken by the orators and speaker for the States, according to their commission.

Moreouer at the length motion was made vnto them to

helpe to confirme the couenant made betweene the Quéene and the king of *Nauarre* concerning the gouernement of the kingdome. To the which they anſwered that it ſeemed vnto them verye vnmeete and ſtrange, that a woman ſhould rule the Realme of *Fraunce*, which was plaine againſte the lawe therof, called the lawe Salic.

After long contention, by the earneſt perſuaſion of the king of *Nauarre*, (who ſought to haue the Quéenes fauour) and ſayd that he did willingly giue place vnto hir, the ſpeakers anſwered, that if the king of *Nauarre* would departe from his right, and that the king and Quéene could ſo agree they would not be againſt it, nor hinder it.

But it was ſayde that thoſe ſpeakers dyd not well in that they ſwarued from their Commiſſions: and therefore that their aſſente to be voyde and of none effecte: neither was the facilitie and mylonelle of the king of *Nauarre* well lyked of.

Cardinal Ferrer, ſent from Rome to hinder the Nationall Counſell in Fraunce.

Nowe the Pope feared (as we ſayde before) that Nationall Councell which the king had promyſed, leaſt it would be greatly hurtfull vnto him: therfore ſo muche as he could he made haſte to haue a generall Councell. And for this cauſe he ſente the Cardinall of *Ferrer*, to the king. This Romiſhe Cardinall called hym ſelfe the Protector of the Churches of *Fraunce*, for the which names ſake manye preſents and giftes were giuen to him in *Fraunce*.

At the nexte comming together of the States, it was concluded that the Pope ſhould neuer afterward haue authoritie to giue anye benefice or ſpirituall promotion in *Fraunce*. Therefore the Cardinall, when he was come, woulde haue vſed his accuſtomed power and authoritie, but beyng let by the newe decree of the States, or Parliament, he rayſed vp great controuerſies. Then the Chauncelor Hoſpitalius affirmed, that it was a thing not to be ſuffered, that ſo newe a decree of Parliament ſhoulde be infringed and broken. Notwithſtanding the matter came to that paſſe by the dayly com-

complaynte of the Cardinall, that the king gaue straight commaundement to the Chaūcelor to seale his letters. The Chauncelor sayde, that it was against lawe and equitie so to do, howbeit he sealed his letters with the kings seale, and subscribed these wordes with his owne hande, without my consente and will. When these letters, according to custome were sent to the Senate of *Paris*, that they also myght confirme them.

But when the Senate had read these wordes of the Chauncelor, they made this answere, They cannot, neither oughte they to be receyued. Which wordes they alwayes vse when they meane to note any vnlawful or vniust matter. Therfore Cardinall Ferrar was without hope of his letters, and was very sore agreeued to see the Popes authoritie so sore diminished and shaken in *Fraunce*, beside this, ballets and rymes were made of hym, and hauing his Crosier going before hym (as the manner is) he was derided of boyes and children that followed him: also pretie Libels were set forthe against hym, and the image of Pope Alexander his grandfather finely paynted with a liuely description of his wickednesse oute of the wordes of the Poet Pontanus, was holde forthe in euerye mannes hande against him. The Cardinall taking this in very euill parte, departed out of *Fraūce*, loking for better occasions to haue his purpose the which in deede he gat afterward.

But shortlye after thys, the Popes authoritie was cut off more and more in *Fraunce*, and all the people almoste euerye where sayde, that nowe the authoritie of men must not be waied, but the substantialnesse of reason and truth: that the great errors whych long ago were growne, were nowe spredde abroade: that the Couetousnesse and Luxurie of the Churche men was insatiable: that they were more outragious and cruell against those whiche followed the contrarye opinion in Religion. All estates and degrees had these and the like communications oftentimes

times in their mouthes: yea, and they which as yet were on the Popes side came not so often to their owne Churches as they had wonte, but came often to the sermons of the reformed Churche, kepte companye with the faythfull, and had often conference with them concerning Religion, and sayde that for this cause there ought to aryse no trouble, nor breache of friendshipp or brotherly loue. They which more obstinately leaned still to their olde opinions, kepte themselues so close within their doores, that they scarce durst to come in anye companye. Many were dayly alured to the companye of the faythfull, in so muche that the alteration of Religion seemed nowe without all doubte to be at hande. The greatest parte of the Nobilitie also embraced the doctryne of the Gospell: And the Queene seemed to prefer Religion verye much, and openly to fauour those of the reformed Religion: whether to please the king of *Nauarre*, or to serue the tyme, I knowe not: and wrote verie earnestly to Pope Pius the fourth, desiring him that he would prouide remedies to stay those troubles.

The effect of the Queenes letters sent to Pope Pius the fourth.

And when the time of the parley appointed was come, she wrote very large letters to him the fourth of August, to this effect as followeth.

If (sayth she) the state of the kingdome of *Fraunce* maye be oppenly described to the holye Father (for so she was wonte to call him) in what and howe manye straites and perills the same was, by reason of the diuers opinions of Religion, he would prouide with al speede for it, and would helpe to staye these troubles both with his presence and authoritie, and also would bende all his Counsell, wisedome, and power, to finde oute remedyes for the same.

Multitude.

On the one parte he might set before his eyes the infinite multitude of soules which runne headlong, as it were, into destruction, bycause they knowe not well the waye of saluation,

On the other parte he might se part of the kingdome to be distracted

diſtracted and drawne away from the communion and fel-
lowſhip of the Churche, whiche conſiſted of the greateſt
part of the Nobles, of learned men, of the beſt citizens, and
moſt ciuil ſorte of the common people, who wante neyther
force, nor counſell, or any other meanes to atchieue their Qualitie.
purpoſe: ſeeing there are among them men of great wealth
and riches, which will not let to ſpend their goods and ſub-
ſtance in their cauſe. Furthermore ſuch is the concord, con-
ſent and vnitie, among them, that it is wonderful to ſee how Concorde.
carefully one of them doe defende an other: in ſomuch that
they can neither be drawne from that concord, neyther can
they be ouercome by force of armes: And without preſent
perill this kingdome can not be caſt into thoſe ſtraites whi-
che threaten vnto the ſame no doubte greate ruine and ex-
treme deſtruction. Seeing therfore the matter ſtandeth thus,
and ſeeing ther is a manifeſt token of great troubles at hād, The increaſe
the number of thoſe men increaſing and waxing ſtrong eue- and force of
ry day more and more, ſhe alſo being perſuaded, that the ho- the faithful.
lie Father being myndefull of thoſe benefites which he had
receyued of the Frenche kings, would carefully indeuoure
himſelfe to prouide remedies to eaſe theſe troubles: for this
cauſe ſhe was bolde to flee vnto him as to a refuge, that
he would apply all his counſell, wiſedome, and power,
to procure the vnitie of the Church. It may pleaſe him ther-
fore to vnderſtand, that this thing might the more eaſyly be
brought to paſſe, becauſe by the goodneſſe of God there are
not in the whole realme of *France*, any Anabaptiſtes, hereti-
kes or any that ſpeake againſt the Chriſtian Articles of the
faith, nor yet againſt the declaration of thoſe Articles made Doctrine.
by the fiue generall Councels. And (ſhe ſayd) this was the
opinion and iudgement of certain lerned men, with whom
ſhe had conferred, that the holie Father might receyue them
which confeſſed that catholike profeſſion of the faith, plainly
confirmed and expounded by thoſe fiue generall Councels,
into the Communion & felowſhip of the Church, although

„ they were of diuers opinions: And that other opinions can
„ not let the vnion of the Churche, euen as in tyme past the
Diuersitie of rites. „ diuersitie in celebrating the Passouer, the diuers and sun-
„ drie obseruations of fastings, and rites in sacraments, and
„ other partes of diuine seruice, did nothing at all hinder the
„ vnion of the Churche: and that the same waye then vsed,
„ should be very profitable now to stay the controuersies of
„ the Latine and Greeke Churche.

„ Therfore they trust the controuersies being at an end, &
„ God wil be with them, and that the darke & misty cloudes
„ being driuen awaye at the length, he will shewe the true
„ and perfecte lyghte of the truth. And (sayth she) if this ge-
„ nerall waye shall not be approued and allowed, although
„ it oughte to be referred to a generall Councell, yet not-
„ withstandyng it is necessaris that the holie Father do pro-
„ uide a speedie remedie before that time, considering the pre-
„ sent necessitie. For delay will bring such greate inconueni-
„ ences with it, as can not eastly by any meanes be recou-
„ red againe.

The remedy „ But the remedie seemeth to consiste in two thinges:
„ First that they which haue alreadie separated themselues
„ from the Communion of the Churche, might be called and
„ brought to the same agayne: Secondly, that they which as
„ yet haue not withdrawne themselues, might be kept in this
„ communion still. To winne the first, it may seeme very ne-
„ cessarie, to vse often admonitions, and to haue mutual and
„ quiet conference on bothe partes. Bishops and their mini-
„ sters muste diligently preache Gods worde, and exhorte
„ the people to mutuall peace and concorde: and names
„ of reproche on bothe sydes muste quyte be taken awaye.
„ The whyche she hoped, was a speedie waye to bring con-
„ corde and loue. The whyche also (she sayd) she had giuen
„ in commaundemente to those that were separated from the
„ Churche, and was hytherto obeyed. But as touching those
„ whyche as yet hadde not separated themselues from the

Come

Communion of the Churche: there are many (sayeth she) ,,
whiche as yet purpose not to departe from the same, and ,,
yet notwithstanding they stande continually in doubte, and ,,
specially in these three principall poyntes. ,,

1 The first is, that they understande, that the primitiue ,, The fyrste
Churche had no images. They knowe that God hathe ex- ,, poynte of
presely forbidden to worshyp them, or to set them in those ,, offence.
places where they maye be worshipped: They know also ,,
that Gregorie hath forbidden the same: and that diuers good ,,
men in lyke maner, whiche synce that tyme, receyued them ,,
into the Churches, expressely declared that they were ordei- ,,
ned for no other vse, than to put the ignorante people in ,,
mynde of their Gods whiche were absente. Notwithstan- ,,
ding, many errours, deceytes, and lyes haue preuayled and ,,
crepte into this kingdome and realme of Fraunce, and ma ,,
ny deceyuers contraris to the doctrine of the auncient Fa- ,,
thers haue moste wickedly abused the worshipping of i- ,, Worshipping
mages to their owne lucre and gaine, in so muche that the ,, of images.
consciences of many men for this cause are greately offen- ,,
ded, and therefore will not come into the Churches, least ,,
they shoulde bowe theyr knee before the Images. ,,

The matter therefore beeing well examined, if on the ,,
one parte the inconueniences whyche may aryse hereof, ,,
and the fruites and commodities whyche are lyke to come, ,,
be wysely waged, it shall be founde that it is better to re- ,,
moue them, than to worshyp them with offence of many: ,,
specially seeing the same is neyther the commaundement of ,,
God, nor yet hath bene receyued of the Churche vpon any ,,
necessitie. Therefore to cut away all occasions of slaunde- ,,
rous reporte, and to keepe those still, of whome we speake, ,,
in the fellowshyp of the Churche, lette it be considered if it ,,
be profitable to remoue these Images from the Altars: ,,
and to place them aboute the Temple, eyther within or ,,
without: the causes beeing declared, namely that certaine ,,
vngodly men seeking theyr owne gayne on the one parte, ,,

» and on the other part certaine ignorant and vnſkilful men,
» alſo wil bring to paſſe, that the people ſhall abuſe them a-
» gainſt the ordinaunce of the Churche.

Sacraments. » 2 The ſecond principall point is concerning the adminiſ-
» tration of Sacraments, of Baptiſme, and of the Lords ſup-
Baptiſme. » per. In the adminiſtration of Baptiſm, it ſeemeth ſtrange
» to many good and godly men, that Exorciſmes, and many
» formes of prayers ſhould be vſed: the which may ſomwhat
» profite thoſe that vnderſtande them: but ſeing the greateſt
» parte of the people doe not vnderſtand them, it ſeemeth bet-
» ter to omit them. And where as it is beleeued and taughte
» that theſe things are neceſſarie to be done before Baptiſm,
» they ſay that it is done againſt the pure and ſound iudgemẽt
» of the Churche, which hath decreed and appoynted Water
» and the Worde to be only neceſſarie in the Sacramente:
» but as for Exorciſmes and Prayers not to be neceſſarie to
Catechiſmes. » the Sacrament. Furthermore they ſaye, that in Baptiſme
» the wordes of the auncient Catechiſmes are reteyned ſtill,
» the vſe wherof is nowe gone, and therfore at this tyme is
» vſed in vayne in Baptiſme. Alſo many do very much miſ-
» like that a diſeaſed or infected prieſt ſhould ſpit his vncleane
» ſpittell into the mouth of the infant: wherby ſome greate
» ill and perill might ariſe. All theſe inconueniences (ſhe
» ſayd) might be remedied if it might be left in the choyce of al
» men, eyther to vſe Exorciſmes and prayers in baptizyng
» their infantes, or elſe purely and ſimply without any ad-
» ditions to keepe the ſubſtance of Baptiſme, that is to ſaye,
» water and the word: and to haue the ſame miniſtred in the
» vulgar tong that the people may vnderſtand it. The whiche
» libertie were more tollerable, than eyther the offence, or
» ſeparation of many men: and ſo no infantes ſhall be bapti-
» zed out of the Congregation of the Romiſhe churche.

» 3 As concerning the holie Comunion, many good men do
The holie » miſlyke three things in the ſame: Of the which, the firſte
communion » is, that it is giuen to communicate only vnder one kynde:

Whoſe

Whose consciences in this matter can not bée quieted and
stayed, eyther by the authoritie of the Councell of *Constance*,
or by the obseruation of custome, receyued not many yea-
res agoe: seing that Iesus Christ playnly sayth, Take yee,
eate ye, drinke ye, Paule the Apostle also sayth: VVho soe-
uer eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup. To the
which expresse word of God is ioyned also the auncient cu-
stome of the Churche, constantly obserued for a thousande
yeares and more. And although for reuerence sake whiche
they owe vnto the Church, they will not condemne the coū-
cell of *Constance*, yet notwithstanding, seing thorough feare
of erring, they leane only to plaine testimonies of Scrip-
ture, and to the auncient custome of the Church, it is to be
feared, that whyle there is controuersie aboute this mat-
ter, others whiche are weake will easily be brought to
their opinion, and so withdrawne from the fellowship of
the Churche of *Rome*. For the obiection of the aduersaries
séemeth to be of greate force, seing they bring bothe the ex-
presse word of God, and also euident reasons for that whi-
che they alleage. Haue it please him therefore to consider
whether it be not best to giue libertie that the communion
may be ministred vnder both kindes, although the councell
of *Constance* be against the same.

The custome of the auncient Church.

2 The seconde thing they mislyke in the holie Commu-
nion is this: Manie are afeard to come to the holy commu-
nion, being ministred in such order as it is in the Romishe
Churches, that is to say, to one or to a few alone, vsing no
prayers that may be vnderstode of the common people, nei-
ther yet expounding the vse of the Sacrament: the aduer-
saries on the contrarie part saying, and openly shewing in
verie deede, that they haue restored in this poynte, the ap-
proued maner of the auncient Church. The which matter,
when diuers reasons and wayes of communicating, are al-
leaged on both sydes, can not be tolde howe many of oure
countreymen it doth pierce and mone, in so much that there

The second poynt that is mislyked.

The sundrie receiuing of the Sacrament.

,, is no doubt but that very manie shal be constrayned for this
,, cause to depart from the Church For when on the one part
,, they see some one alone, or a certain smal number, without
,, prayers, without a sermon, without giuing of thanks, to re-
,, ceiue any part of the sacrament, and that in an vnknowne
,, tongue: on the other part a congregation of a great number
,, of men, together plainly to make confession of their faith,
,, publikely to confesse their synnes, to giue thankes vnto
,, God, to pray vnto God, to sing Psalmes in the vulgar tong,
,, to come to the Sermon, by which they may be instructed to
,, liue a godly and a christian lyfe, and to prepare themselues
,, also to receyue the Sacrament: it is harde to say, but that
,, they whiche take oure parte onely for a zeale and true de-
,, syre of Religion, will take these occasions to fall awaye
,, from vs.

Tymes to receiue the cõmunion.

,, To remedie this inconuenience, let the Pope himselfe
,, consider, if it shall not be well done to suffer the holy com-
,, munion to be ministred euerye moneth, according to the
,, maner of the primitiue Church: that the Pastors and El-
,, ders of Churches, may call all those together, whiche wyll
,, communicate, the first Sunday of euery moneth, or oftner,
,, if they be required, and that there, in the vulgar tongue, a
,, Psalme maye be song, and a generall confession of fayth,
,, and of sins lykewise to be made, publike and cõmen pray-
,, ers also for the preseruation of Magistrates, for the pure-
,, nesse of the ayre, for the frutes of the earth, and for suche as
,, are afflicted, deuoutly to be sayde. And to them, thus assem-
,, bled together, some place, either of the Euangelistes, or of
,, Paules Epistles, whiche concerneth the vse of the Lordes
,, supper, may be red: and so to be receyued to the cõmunion
,, vnder both kynds. And although this seemeth to be newe,
,, and not customably heretofore to be vsed: yet notwithstã-
,, ding seeing the Apostles, and they which straight after suc-
,, ceded them, did so, it can not be sayde, that the holy father
,, hath done, or appoynted any thing against the cõmandemẽt
of God

of God and the maner of the Church. And to the end he may vnderſtande for what cauſe they vrge and ſo earneſtly deſire this thing, it may pleaſe him to know, that there is nothing that ſo much troubleth and burdeneth their conſciences, as the feare of not rightly receiuing the Sacramentes. And here the aduerſaries triumphe, and crie that the commaundement of God is broken: and thus by little our miniſterie and all our doctrin groweth out of credite: inſomuch that the ſhame and repꝛoche hereof will redound to the holie Father himſelfe at the length, except it be foreſéen. For the which they thinke that there can not be a better & more preſent remedie founde, than if the Lordes Supper be celebrated in that order, as is before declared. The whyche thyng the hir ſelfe, ſo muche the more vrgeth and earneſtly craueth, that he might helpe and remedie ſo greate troubles in tyme.

3 The thirde ſpeciall poynt of offence is this: There are many men of the more learned ſort in al the realme, which are offended at that rite or feaſt, whiche is commonly called *Corpus Chriſti* day: at which yearely feaſt the bodie of the Lorde is caried about the Cities: to the which ſolemnitie they ſaye they can not with ſafe conſciences come, and that for theſe cauſes: Firſte bicauſe it is againſt the expreſſe inſtitution of the Sacrament, Take ye, eate ye, drinke ye, Alſo, Doo this in remembraunce of me. That is to ſaye, Doo yée as I haue done. And therefore they ſay, that there is ſo great difference betwéen the giuyng of bread to be ſéene, and the eating of breade in déde, euen as if a man ſhoulde not receyue that wholſome medicine giuen vnto him for his healthy, but ſhould cauſe it verie ſumptuouſly to be caryed vp and down the chamber. They ſaye alſo that Paule ſayd not, Carie this bread about the ſtretes: but, VVhoſoeuer eateth of this bread and drinketh of this wine. Furthermore, they ſay, that Chriſte is in heauen, and that therfore there is onely required a ſpirituall worſhip. Wherevpon they ſaye

The thirde point that is miſſelyked.

Spirituall worſhip.

,, say, that great iniurie is done to him by those corporal and
,, externall worships, seing he exalted himself from earth to
,, heauen, to the end he might be worshipped and adored with
,, true and spirituall honor. And last of all they say, that this
,, rite of carying the Lords bodie vp and down, was brought
,, in, and by little & little established, not by any authoritie of
,, Scripture, but by the deuotion of some singular man. Also
,, that neither Clement nor Gregorie bishops of *Rome*, whiche
,, appointed the same to be a solemne feaste, haue not spoken
,, one worde of that deambulation, and that therefore our la-
,, boring Priests do erre and offende against their will and
,, institution, seing that no other day hath such frædome and
,, libertie to commit all kinde of wickednesse as that hath: the
,, whiche truly is not the waye to knowledge and worshippe
,, Christ, seeing that he requireth of his disciples purenesse
,, and newnesse of lyfe, and in his holy worde vtterly deteste-
,, eth all sinfull libertie: The which things seeme hurtfull,
,, not onely to those whiche haue separated themselues from
,, our felowship, but also to those which will not leaue the
,, same. They doe perceyue that hereupon many things are
,, done amisse, as the pollution of the Sacrament against the
,, word of God, and the approued customes of the Church.
,, Also that by the occasion of this day, many men are abused
,, and led to commit wicked and horrible things: and that the
,, same day is a verie prouocation of most perillous sedition,
,, as we hitherto to our great griefe haue felt. Therefore, ex-
,, cept this thing be foreseene, and a remedie prouided for the
,, same, at the length experience will shewe that it is better
,, to seeke a more deuoute way to worship God withall, than
,, to retayne & kepe this ryte to the hurt and offence of many.

The Masse an occasion of greate offence.

,, The Masse also is an other greate cause of offence. All
,, men crie out that the Masse is a great offence & stumbling
,, block to the Church, the same being sold of ignorant, disso-
,, lute, and most vngodly Priests: and yet no man seketh to
,, reforme and amende the same.

This

This thing truly, hath of late diminished the deuotion of the people very muche: yea, and many of our felowship do proceed further also, & do doubt of the Masse, both touching the substance, and also touching the forme. In the substāce they doe note, that the Churchemen affirme, that the Priestes do offer Christe: and do more esteeme of their owne sacrifice, than they doe of the sacrifice of Christe. And that certaine of the Doctours doe saye, that the same sacrifice whiche the Priests offer, is onely a monument and signe of the true sacrifice whiche Christe offered for vs once for all: but the ignorāt people are taught by ignorant priests, ỹ he ought to be counted for an heretik which thinketh otherwise. The which truly, seeing it seemeth to be most absurd, it giueth great occasion to ỹ aduersarie to speak euil. But in the forme of the Masse they note foure principall things. First that all things are done in the same in a strange & an vnknowne tong: the which in deed is vnprofitable and dangerous, seeing no fruite commeth thereof vnto the people, but are onely fed with certaine outward shewes. Whereas on the contrarie part (say they) it is necessarie that the confession of the faith shoulde be plainly and euidently vnderstode of all men: and seeing the Latine tongue muste needes be vsed, let the same yet be expounded into the mother tong that it may of all men be vnderstode. And seeing the prayers which are there made, appertaine to the common profit of all the hearers, who vnderstanding not what is spoken, shall aunswere, Amen? Furthermore they saye, that the consciences of the Clergie doe accuse them, and tel them that they doe amisse, seeing no part of the vse of their Masse is declared: without the which notwithstanding the administration of the Sacramente seemeth to be but vaine. Thirdly, seeing those things which are spoken in the Masse doe belong to the whole congregation, and not to the Priestes alone, and specially those things whiche concerne the Communion, and yet neuertheleſſe one Priest only com-

In the substāce of the Masse.

In the forme of the Masse.

A straunge language.

municateth, the people standing by, and looking on: it seemeth iustly to be verie farre out of order, and not agreeing to the truthe. Wherfore they thinke it meete that it shoulde be reduced and brought to the ancient maner of the church, agreeing to the first institution. Fourthly, they mislyke the order of the diuine seruice. In the which is to be considered what great profit the singing of Psalmes, and the making of Prayers in the vulgar tong hath brought in tyme passe. And truly our aduersaries of late days vsing these meanes haue allured and drawne many vnto them. Wherefore let the holy Father consider, if it shall not be best to giue liberte to haue the Psalmes song, and Prayers also made in the vulgar toung, that they maye be vnderstoode of all the people.

Singing of Psalmes.

These are the principall poyntes whiche they saye, are needfull to be amended, euen they which haue separated themselues from our felowship, whith they desire to haue taken in good part, seeing they goe not about to violate the Apostolike authoritie of the holy father: and firmely persist in these two things: namely that nothing be altered in doctrine: And also that if the Ministers of the Churche do offende in any thing, the Ministerie therefore shoulde not be taken away, but the authoritie thereof alwayes to remain preserued and safe.

These two things being firmely holden, they thinke it no absurditie if diligente inquisition be made of other matters which haue neede of reformation. Therefore she dothe humbly beseeche the holye Father that he woulde prouide for these thinges, for that greater inconueniences no dout woulde folowe if so be that there were not remedie prouided in tyme. As for other thinges, the Quéene promiseth that she hir selfe, with the counsell of good men, and with hir diligence and indeuour, will loke vnto so muche as she maye, both for the peace and quietnesse of the Church, and

also

also for the dignitie of the Popes holynesse. These thinges haue ben by vs faithfully gathered out of the Copie of hir owne letters.

¶ The thirde Booke of Commentaries concerning the state of Religion, and of the common vvealth of Fraunce.

IN the meane season the Prelates and Clergie came from all partes of the realme to a towne called *Poissi*, neere to *Sangerman*, at the day appointed in the moneth of August: to reason and frely to dispute on both parts of the principall poyntes of Religion nowe in controuersie. Libertie was graunted vnto all men of the reformed Church, frely to come to heare the same: and that vnder safe conduct by the kings letters. Certain men were chosen to be at that Councel, out of the reformed Churches, being safe conducted at the kings cõmandment by his garde, from *Paris* to the towne called *Sangerman*. Among whome, the principall were these, namely Peter Martyr, professor of diuinitie in the *Tygurine* Churche, and Theodore Beza (who were chiefe in this disputation) Minister of Gods word in *Geneua*, who were procured to come thither by the kyng of *Nauarre*, and by the reformed Churches. There were also Nicolaus Gelanus, Augustinus Marloratus, Iohannes Merlinus, Franciscus Morellus, and Iohannes Malo: wyth whome also came Espineus, a learned man, whiche a little before, abiuring and forsaking the Popes religion, imbraced the doctrine of the Gospell.

The begining of the disputation at Poissi.

They therfore to begin ỹ matter, offer to ỹ king a supplication,

cation, in the which they desire that this disputation might be begon forthwith by his authoritie: and that these might be the conditions to be obserued in the same: First, that those prelates, which were of the contrarie opinion, might not be set as chiefe Iudges in this disputation, but that the king with his Counsellours, should by his authoritie moderate and rule the whole matter: Secondly, that all controuersies should be referred and ended by the word of God only. Thirdly, that what soeuer should be determined and concluded in that disputation, should be registred in the kinges publike commentaries by his notaries. To the whiche the kyng made answer, that he would consult of this matter with his councel, that if it might be, al the matter might by some meanes, with the consent of the Prelates, quietly be ended. But the Prelates complayned and sayd, that this libertie of disputing ought not to be graunted vnto them, which were long agoe condemned. Wherupon they deferred the matter for certayn dayes, being busied in the mean time to fynde out the scruples and doubtes of these questions, namely, concerning the dignitie of Cathedrall Churches: Concerning Regulars, and their exemptions: Concerning Cures and their ordinarie presentation: Concerning the exceeding number of inferiour Priestes: Concerning the reformation of Monasteries. Concerning pluralities of Benefices, and such like: seeking to helpe the disordered Churche in due time with these inquisitions.
But this one thyng they specially pretended, that they should haue great iniurie, if authoritie to iudge were taken from them.

But nowe it shall not be disagreeing from our purpose to make mention of certayne communication had, betwen the Cardinall of Lorayne and Theodore Beza, before the solemne disputation began.

Certaine

Certayne communication betweene the Cardinall of *Lorrain*, and *Theodore Beza* Minister of *Geneua*.

Beza came into the bedchamber of the king of *Nauarre*, being so commaunded by him, to the intente he might salute the Quéene. And at that tyme there was also the Cardinall of *Lorrain*. Then the Quéen began to talke with Beza concerning his bookes. Upon which occasion the Cardinall then sayd to Beza as followeth.

Card. Lorrain. I haue séene a booke, the author wherof you are sayd to bée, in the whiche are contayned these wordes: Chryst is to be sought in the Supper, after the same manner that he was, before he toke vpon him our flesh. I haue heard also that you haue written another moste absurde saying, which is, that Christe must be sought for in the Supper, as in the myre and dirte. At the whiche saying the standers by, greatly maruelling, Beza answered.

Beza. If the bookes were hers, I could the better tel whither they were myne or no: but concerning the first saying, it may séeme very absurde as you repeate it: but the place being diligently wayed, it shall be founde to be moste true. As for the seconde it is blasphemous and wicked, neyther shall it bée founde written in myne, or in anye of oure bookes.

Card. Lorrain. No doubte I maruell, that any man dare affirme, that we haue no more than the auncient Fathers had in the tyme of the lawe: and how could they speake of the flesh of Chryste, which as yet was not.

Concerning our communion with Christ, and of the fathers vnder the lawe.

Beza. Do ye thinke that there was alwayes a Churche from the first creation of the worlde? Do ye thinke that the Church which was from the beginning of the world, was called a Churche by him which was a Mediator betweene God & men? And do ye thinke that Iesus Chriſte was that Mediatoure.

Card Lor. It is my opinion.

Beza. Therefore the communion of the faithfull with Christ, oughte not to be restrained to that tyme, when he ioyned his diuinitie in verie déde to our nature: for ẏ which was not as yet by the order of nature, was notwithstanding alwayes by the force and efficacie of faithe. Is it not sayd, that Abraham sawe the day of Christ, and reioyced? And Paule sayth: That the fathers did eate the same spirituall meate, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink, whereof we haue dronke, namely Christe.

Iohn. 8.

1. Cor. 10.

Card. Lor. It is verie true: For he is the Lambe that was slain from the beginning of the worlde.

After this when *Beza* had brought in manye places concerning the difference betweene the olde and newe Testament, there began a newe disputation concerning the presence of the bodie and bloud of Christ in the Supper.

Card. Lor. We do disagree in the explication of these words, This is my bodie.

Beza. We disagree in very déde, for which we are very sorye.

Car. Lo. I teach the children of my dioces, whē they are demaūded what the bread in the Supper is, to answer, that it is the bodie of Christ: do ye disalowe this?

Beza. No truly, for they are the very wordes of Christe. But I demaund, how the bread is called the body of Christ? For all that is, is not after one fashion or manner.

But the Cardinall urged these wordes, The rocke was Christe, whiche wordes Beza had cited before, agaynst the which he set these wordes of S. Iohn, The worde became flesh. To the which Beza answered.

1. Corin. 10.

Iohn. 1.

Beza. There is great difference betwéen that substantial communion and the Sacramentall communion: And this question (sayth he) doth consist of foure principall pointes. The first is of signes: the second, of the thing signified: the third of the coniunction of signes, & the thing signified: the fourth is of the participation of signes, and of the thing by them

them signified. Concerning the first, we differ in this, that you apoint in the Supper only accidents for signes: but we for signes put the substãce of bread and wine as the nature of Sacraments doth require, and the Scripture vniuersallye teache. Here the Cardinall interrupting *Beza* in his talke, sayde: 1. Sacramentall signes.

Card. Lor. I thinke truly, that I am able to proue & defend Transubstantiation: but I thinke that the same was not greatly nedefull to be founde oute by the diuines, neyther doe I thinke that there oughte to be in the churches any dissions for this matter. Then Beza proceading with his former purpose, sayd.

Beza. Concerning the seconde, we doe not saye, that the merites of the death and passion of Christ, are onely signified by the outward signes of bread and wine: but also that the verie bodie of Christe which was crucified for vs, & his blood which was shed for vs, is by them represented. Also that Iesus Christ very God and perfect man is offered vnto vs by visible signes, that our myndes being lifted vp by faith to heauen (wher Christ now is) may spiritually behold him, & receiue & enioy all his graces to euerlasting life, and that so certainly and truely as we see and receyue, and eate and drinke the corporall and visible signes. 2. The thing signified.

To this the Cardinall of *Loraine* agreed, affirming that he was glad to heare those wordes, for so muche as he perceiued that the doctrine of the Faithfull was otherwise than he thought it to bee.

Beza. Concerning the thirde, there is greate difference betweene common water, and that with the which we are washed in baptisme: betweene the bread and wine whiche we dayly vse, and that whiche is vsed in the Supper. For the water of Baptisme, the breade and wyne of the Supper, are Sacramentes, that is to saye, visible sygnes and Testimonies of the bodie and blood of the Lorde. But we denie (saith he) that there is any such mutatiõ in ỹ substãce of the 3. The coniunction of signes, and the thing signified.

of the Elements: but we affirme that the change is in this, that they are applyed to an other vse than that which is naturall, because they seruing of themselues & by their owne nature, for the nutriment of the body, & being Sacraments, they signifie that thing whiche doth feede our soules. Furthermore we doe not assigne the cause of this mutation to the wordes, or to the mynd and purpose of him that pronounceth them, but to the vertue and power of God, whose will is reuealed in his word. Therfore because the thing signified is offred vnto vs, and so truly giuen vnto vs as the signe it selfe, we muste also acknowledge by the same reason, the coniunction of signes with the thing signifyed. And by this meanes the body and bloude of Iesus Christe, in that they are truely giuen vnto vs, are in the administration of the Supper, and not with, vnder, or in the breade, or in any other place than in heauen, where, as he is man, he is contained, vntill he shall come to iudge both the quicke and dead. The Cardinal also agreed to the same, and affirmed that he did not allow Transubstantiation: but thought rather that Christe shoulde be sought in heauen. Notwithstanding as one in deut, he added other sayings of certayne Germanes, to the end he might therby seeme not to haue greatly trauelled in this matter, excusing himselfe to be let from the same by other businesse.

Then sayde Beza: I graunte that we and certaine Germanes doe disagree in this thyrde Article: but in this notwithstanding we agree that we altogyther, ioyntly with one consent denie your Transubstantiation.

Card. Lor. Doe ye confesse that we are truely and substantially partakers of the body and bloud of Christ?

4. The participation of the signes, & of the thing signified.

Beza. This is the fourthe principall poynt, whiche before I noted, and resteth to be declared. In sume therefore we do affirme, that the visible signes, whiche are naturally eaten and dronken, are touched with the handes: that the matter of the Sacrament, that is to say, the body & bloud of Christ

Iesus

Jesus, is offered truely and without deceyte to all men, that the same is receyued by faythe, and not by naturall reason, but yet, that the same is so truely giuen vnto vs by faythe, as if we were naturally ioyned with Chryst.

Then the Cardinall affirmed that Beza hadde satisfyed him in this poynte, and very friendly and louingly desired Beza that he might haue conference with him. Notwithstanding it was reported, that the Cardinall had confuted Beza by these fyue small tryalles and assayes. And so they fully persuaded themselues to haue the victorie.

But when they which were the chosen mē of the Churches to dispute, sawe that new delayes were founde out day by day, they vrged that their petitions, whereof we spake before, might be graunted vnto them: and they desired also to vnderstande the Kings mynde in writing. At the length they receyued this answere of the Quene, that the Prelates shoulde not be their Iudges, but that there shoulde be graunted vnto them certayne of the Kings Secretaries: that the matter should be ruled wholy by the worde of God: and that the king with the Princes his kinsmen, woulde be at the disputation. The ministers desire to haue the disputatiō and obtaine it.

And herewith she admonished them to behaue themselues modestly, and to seke onely the glorie of GOD, whiche she thought (she sayde) they greatly desired. But to graunt them any thing in writing, she thought it not expedient, seeing their wordes might serue well inough.

When the chosen men of the Churches hadde receyued this answere, and were departed, there came straight way vnto the Quene certaine Papistes, beseching hir that she woulde not heare these men of the newe religion: and if she were mynded to heare them, that she would at the least beware and se, that the yong king came not to their disputations: bycause it was dangerous, leste he in his yong and tender yeares, shoulde be taken and snared therewith. For (say they) it is not meete that they shoulde be heard, which

not long agoe were convicted of heresie.

To whome the Quéene onely answered that she would doe nothing without due Counsell and aduise, and that they should well understande that the matter should not be handled after the wil and pleasure of those men of the new doctrine, as they termed them.

The first session of this disputation.

The next daye after, which was the ninth day of September, was the time appoynted to begin the disputation. Therefore the King and the Quéene his mother, the Duke Aurelian the Kings brother, Margaret his Sister, the King and Quéene of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, with the reste of the Princes the Kings kinsmē, and the Prime Counsel, and a greate number also of Noble men and Gentlemen, were assembled together, in a verye large hall, which men commonlye call, the Hall of the holye Virgins of Poitiers. Hyther came also the Popes chiefe Prelates the Cardinals, the Archebyshoppes, and Bishoppes, to the number of fiftie, beside a great many substitutes and deputies in the places of those that were absent, a great many diuines and men of learning counted, standing about them. In the highest place sat the King, and harde beside him, according to customs, the Princes his kinsmen: the Bishops sitting all a long on both sides the hall vpon greéces one aboue another. Then were brought in the chosen men, for disputation, of the reformed Churches, which were twelue Ministers, and twentie others, which were sent also of the same Churches: whom the Kings Gard at the commaundement of the king had brought from *Sangerman* thyther, least there should be some tumult raised against them.

The proposition of king Charles the ix.

When euery man kepte silence, the King spake in maner and fourme following: All men (sayth he) know well enoughe, what and how great perturbations and troubles are in the Realme: for the which cause I haue appoynted you to come together at this time, that those things which ye knowe haue néede of reformation, maye quietly of you

be

be declared, without any maner of affection, hauing no consideration or care for any thing, but for the glorye of God, and the peace and quietnesse of consciences: The whyche thing I greatlye desire, in so much that I haue determined not to suffer you to departe hence, before you haue made some ende of all controuersies, that at the length all dissentions being taken away, mutual peace and concord may be had among all men. This thing if ye bring to passe ye shall giue me occasion to maintayne and defende you with no lesse care than those kings my auncestours, that haue bene before me, haue done.

Then he commaunded his Chauncelor to declare his minde more at large. The Chauncelor therefore began to shew that the kings will was according to the wils of his predecessors that had bene before him, in staying the controuersies of Religion, the which, when those kings of happie memorie went diligently about to bring to passe, they had in their labors very small successe, in so much that daylie more and more new troubles arose: wherfore he would that all men should the more diligently, wisely to apply themselues to pacifie in time these troubles, for the which cause he had caused them to come togither, and minded in his royall person to accompany them, that disordered matters in Religion which concerned both doctrine and maners might be reformed: he vnderstanding that this was the onelye cause of all troubles, would diligentlye prouide for them as his office required. The proposition of the Chauncelor.

The remedie which nowe he intendeth to vse, seemeth to be a present remedie, as it was of late deliberated and considered of in the most noble assembly of the Princes & Counsel, namely, that by this peculiar and particular conference, the matters of Religion in controuersie betweene both parties, might be quietly reasoned and disputed of.

But to looke or seeke for remedie by a general Counsel, it is as vaine as if a man hauing good and sufficient reme- Generall Counsell a vaine remedie.

die at home, shulde notwithstanding travaile to the *Indyes*, to seke the same. For (sayth he) we our selues shall better prouide remedyes for our selues, than men of straunge and forraine countreys can doe, which know neither the state of our cause, nor the condition of our people: of which kinde of strangers notwithstanding the generall Councell shall consiste. Greater fruites and profite haue often times come by Nationall Councels, than haue come by generall Comicels. As may appeare by that generall Councell of *Ariminum*, the which Councell openly fauouring and maintaining the secte of the *Arrians*, was reproued and corrected by particular Synodes. Also, in this our realme of *Fraunce*, Hilary Bishop of *Pictauia*, by his industrye and faithfull dealing, in *Synodes*, banished the hereste of the *Arrians* out of these partes. Therfore (sayth he) there is no doubte but that there shall arise great profite and commoditie by this assembly: specially seing it pleaseth the king to take such paines him selfe, who no doubt wil helpe both with his power & authoritie. Wherfore he wished the disputers on both partes onely to be carefull to doe their duetie, both of them ioyntly to seke concorde, the greater part not to despise the lesser: not to vse curious disputations without profit: and to iudge & examine al matters by the word of God only, which being wel vnderstode, fewe other authours shall serue: also that they which say they folowe the newe doctrine, woulde not counte the prelates of the contrarye parte for their enimyes, seyng by Baptisme they retaine the name of Christians.

Ariminum otherwise called Remino, an old citie in Flaminia in Italy.

For the king (sayth he) hath therefore giuen you leue to come together, that men might se what reasons you haue, and that the Prelates on ꝑ Popes side, might seke by strong argumẽts to confute thẽ: that the disputation at the length beyng published abrode, all men may euidently se, that they are condemned for iust causes, and not by the vaine authoritie of men. Therefore, take heede in any case, that you do nothing ambitiously: know ye, that ye are not iudges: and indeuour

deuour your selues to finde out and manifest the truth. So shall you both glorifye God, and also profite your countrey: and God himselfe shall blesse your indeuours, and the moste constant minde of the king, in this matter.

The matter being thus propounded by ỳ Chauncelor, the Cardinall of *Turnon*, in the name of the Prelates, gaue great thankes to the king, to the Quéene, and to the Princes: that it pleased them to come to this holy assemblye, and for that the Chancelor by the kings commaundement had put forth these matters: the which he desired to haue giuen vnto him in writing, that they might deliberate and consider what was needefull to be done in these things. Then the Chancelour saide that he would not giue the matter in writing, seing it was plainely enough declared. And thus they could get nothing at the handes of the Chancelor, although the Cardinall of *Loraine* required the same. The exception of Frances Cardinall of Turnon.

Then the ministers, which sat ouer against them, hauing leaue to speake, Theodore Beza, began thus. Seing that all things (O king) both great & small, especially those things which belong to the worship of God, and which doe far surmounte oure capacitie, doe depende vpon the same God, we thinke it not troublesome to your maiestie, if we begin with prayer vnto God. When he had spoken these wordes, he falling on his knees with the rest of his fellowes, beganne to pray vnto God in that forme of confession of sinnes which is vsed in the reformed Churches, pronouncing the same with a loude voyce: and that done, straight way he added vnto the same these wordes. For so much as (O God) thou hast bene so fauourable this daye to thy vnworthye seruauntes, as to graunt them leaue to professe the knowledge of thy truth before their King, and this most honorable assembly, we moste humbly beseeche thee (O father of lightes) that it may please thee, according to thy accustomed goodnesse, so to illuminate our mindes, to gouerne our affections, and to make them apte to be taughte: so also to direct oure wordes, that whatsoeuer The oratiō of Beza in the name of the protestantes. Beza his prayer.

knowledge of thy truth thou shalt giue vnto vs according to our capacitie, we may both with hearte and mouthe vtter the same, to the glorye of thy name, to the profit and prosperitie of our King, and of all his subiects, and specially to the peace and tranquillitie of this Christian common wealth & realme.

" Whē Beza had thus ended his prayer, turning his speach " to the king, he vttered these wordes in manner and forme " following: They which doe faithfully serue and obey their " Princes, (most noble King) doe thinke themselues moste " happie in this thing aboue al other, if so be they may behold " the faces of their Princes: ỹ which representing as it were " a certaine visible maiestie of God, can not chose but stirre " vp and delight the mindes of faithfull subiectes. For such is " our nature, that those things which we sée oure selues with " our eyes, do more effectually moue our affections, thā those " things which we féele and perceiue by the bare and simple " apprehension of the minde.

" But and if it come to passe, that not only the subiects may " sée their Prince, but also may be sene of their Prince, and " that which is more, may be heard, & at the length approued " of him, then they thinke that they haue al that they cā wish " or desire. Of these foure things (O king) it pleased God to " depriue many of your faithfull subiects, for a time, to their " great sorrowe & griefe, vntill the same God in his infinite " mercy & gōdnesse at our sorowful teares & continual sighes " forgiuing somewhat, so spared vs, that he hath giuen vnto " vs this daye a benefite more of vs wished, than hoped for, " namely libertie to beholde your maiestie, that of the same " we may both be sene & hard, in this most noble assembly, al " most of the whole worlde. If we had neuer receiued any o- " ther benefite, neither should hereafter receiue, all the reste " of the race of oure life shoulde not be sufficient to celebrate " and set forth so great a benefite of God, and to giue immor- " tall and condigne thankes to your Maiestie. But seing we " doe ioyne this also to those former benefites, that this daye

Beza directeth his speache to the king.

Howe greate a benefite it is for subiects to be hard & sene of their Prince

doth

doth not onely giue vnto vs acceſſe, but dothe alſo inuite vs, »
with one minde and conſente, to profeſſe the name of oure »
God, and the obedience due to your maieſtie: we muſte no »
doubte confeſſe that oure mindes are farre vnapte to con- »
ceiue ſo greate benefites as theſe be, and oure tongues alſo »
leſſe able to vtter and expreſſe that which we fæle in oure »
myndes. Therefore this benefite ſurpaſſing all humaine e- »
loquence, we had rather by modeſt ſylence, to confeſſe oure »
imbecillitie, than with the barrenneſſe of words to diminiſhe »
the greatneſſe of the ſame. »

But this one thing we wi he, that oure dutifull obedi- »
ence maye be acceptable to your maieſtie this daye. The »
which we hope will come to paſſe, if ſo be our comming to- »
gether maye ende not onely the miſeryes of oure afflictions »
paſte, (the remembraunce whereof this moſt happie daye »
doth quite baniſhe) but that thing alſo which alwayes ſæ- »
med vnto vs more bitter than death: which was, the great »
troubles raiſed in this Realme for Religion to the great de- » Troubles for Religion.
ſtruction of manye. But nowe there are manye occaſions, »
which euen at this day, will not ſuffer vs to enioye ſo great »
a benefite, and haue alſo taken cleane awaye from vs al hope »
to enioy the ſame, except by other meanes we be ſtayed and »
comforted. Firſt of all, there are many men, which (by what »
miſchiefe I knowe not) are throughly perſuaded of vs, that »
we are troubleſome perſons, ambitious, wholye wedded to »
our opinions, & enimies to peace & tranquilitie. There are »
alſo other ſome, who although they dos thinke vs not to ab- »
horre peace & concorde, yet notwithſtanding they do thinke »
that we do require ỹ ſame vpõ ſuch vnlawful & ſtraight cõdi- »
tions, ỹ we ought by no meanes to be receiued, as though we »
wold inuert ỹ whole world, & after our owne fantaſie make »
it new againe, & depriue many from their gœds that we our »
ſelues might inioye them. There are alſo other ſuche like »
great impediments: but we had rather to bury them in ſy- »
lence, than in ſpeaking of them, to rubbe and renewe olde »

punish-

" punishments: specially at this tyme, when complaintes are
" not to be made, but rather the remedies of complaintes to
" be sought and prouided for.

" But who doth incourage vs among so many lets & stays?
" We are destitute of helpe (O King) seing of all men we
" are the most base sorte. But this maketh vs bolde, namely
" our good conscience, whiche is a helpe vnto our cause, the
" which we trust, God will defend, & reuenge, by the meanes
" of your Maiestie. In lyke maner your clemencie (O king)
" which most dilectably is to be seene in your mouthe, counte-
" nance, and talke: the equitie and vprightnesse of your mind,
" most excellent Quene: the goodnesse of your mynde and of
" the myndes of the Princes the kings kinsmen, moste noble
" King: the occasion also whiche you haue giuen vs to thinke
" well of you most honorable Councellours (who agreing in
" one, do your selues no lesse desire to giue vnto vs necessarie
" and pure concorde, than we earnestly desire to receiue the
" same) doe giue vnto vs great boldnesse and hope. What
" should I vse many wordes? There is also an other thing
" whiche maketh vs to haue some hope: and that is the rule
" of charitie, which we trust will so moderate you, with whō
" we must enter into disputation, that you will rather seke
" with vs, (according to our slender capacitie) to manyfest
" the truth, than to obscure the same: to teach, than to contend
" to expend and weye reason, than wilfully to refuse reason:
" and also that you will rather restrayne euill, that it goe no
" farther, than to lose the reynes to the same, and to make it
" incurable. This truely is our hope, and persuasion of you.
" And we praye and beseech you, by the name of the mightie
" God, which hath gathered vs here togither, whiche shall be
" a witnesse of our cogitations and wordes, that whatsoeuer
" hath bene written or spoken for the space of these 40. yeres)
" you will with vs put awaye all preiudiciall meanes: which
" maye possibly hinder the fruite and profite of this laudable
" way, now taken in hand: and that it will please you to hope

and

and to assure your selues of that in vs, whiche by the grace of God you shall find, that is to saye, a mynde apt to be taught, and to receyue whatsoeuer shall be shewed out of the pure worde of God. Thinke you not that we are come hyther to defende and mayntayne any error, but to the ende that wherinsoeuer you or we haue offended, we maye acknowledge the same and amende it. Thinke you not, that we are so arrogant, that we would abolysshe the Churche of our God, which is sempiternall. Thinke you not, that we seeke meanes to bring you into this vile & miserable condition, in the which notwithstanding, by the greate grace of God, we ar very wel quieted & contented. This is that, which we seeke for, namely that the ruine of *Hierusalem* maye be repayred: that the spirituall temple may be buylded: & that the same house of God being builded vp with liuely stones, may recouer his former excellencie: & also that ỹ scattered & dispersed shæpe, may be gathered & brought again into ỹ shæpfold of that only & most excellent Shepherd Christ Iesus.

This is our purpose, this is our wil, this is our desire: the whiche if you as yet beleeue not, we truste you will then beleeue, when we conferre with you, with all patience and meekenesse. But I would to God that in stead of our disputations & arguments, we might with one voice and consent, sing a Psalme vnto God, and shake handes as frendes: as once it came to passe betweene the Infidels, the fielde beeing pitched, and bothe armies ready to meete and encounter together. At which thing truely we might be ashamed, if both of vs preaching the doctrine of concorde and peace, shoulde easily be deuided, and made enemies, and hardly reconciled agayne. But what neede these wordes? These things ought and may be wyshed for of men, but it onely belongeth vnto God to bring them to passe: the which he will doe when it shall please him with his goodnesse to couer our sinnes, and with his light to driue away our darknesse.

And heere (O King) to the ende it maye appeare, that we

» simply and plainly meane good sothe, we will (if it so seeme » good, and if leaue may be graunted) briefly declare the chief » and principall pointes of this Conference or Disputation: » notwithstanding in such order that no man shall haue iuste » occasion to be offended. There are some whiche thinke and » woulde also persuade others, that we disagree in matters of » small waight, and in those thinges which are indifferent, & » not appertayning to the substance of our faith. And ther are » other some, which hauing no knowledge or vnderstanding » of those things which we beleeue and defende, do thinke no- » thing lesse but that we agree with the Iewes and Turkes. » The purpose and thought of those first sort of me, we truste » shall be approued by vs, to be no lesse commendable than » the other is to be reiected. And yet certainly neither of their » opinions are firme and true. For if we shoulde beleeue the » opinion of this last sort, the one part could not stand by any » meanes without the destruction of the other. But if the first » opinion be receiued, many matters shall be left so raw, that » occasions of greater troubles will thereof by and by spring » and arise. Therefore we graunt (the whiche we can scarsly » do without teares) we confesse (I say) that as we doe agree » in certaine articles of our faithe, so in certaine of them, we » do wholly vary and dissent.

In what thinges the Papists and Protestants do agree, and in what they do disagree.

We confesse that there is one God, in one essence, infinite and incomprehensible, distinguished and deuided in three persons consubstanciall and coequall in all thinges: namely into the Father begotten of none: into the Sonne begotten of the Father before all worlds: and into the holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Sonne. We » confesse that ther is one Iesus Christ, perfect God & perfect » man without confusion of the two natures, or separation of » the Prophets. We confesse that Christ, as he is man, is » not the sonne of Ioseph, but conceiued by the secrete power » of the holy ghost in the wombe of the virgin Mary: a virgin I say, both before the byrth, and after also.

We

We confesse his Natiuitie, his life, his death, his burial, his descending into hell, his Resurrection, and his ascention, euen as they are contained in the holy Gospel. We beleeue that Christ is now in heauen at the right hand of God, from whence he shal come to iudge the quick & the dead. We beleeue in the holy Ghost, which doth illuminate, comfort, and defend vs. We beleeue that there is one holy Church, Catholique, that is to say vniuersall, which is the companie & fellowship of Saints, out of the which ther is no saluatiō. We are persuaded of the free remission of our sinnes in the bloud of Iesus Christ: by whose power, whē our bodies being raysed vp from death shall be ioyned againe to our soules, we shall enioy with our God, moste happy and euerlasting life. What then? (will some say) are not they the articles of our faith? In what therfore do we disagree? First of all we disagree in the interpretation of some of these articles. Secondly, bycause it semeth vnto vs (& if we erre therin, if it can be proued, we are ready to acknowledge our error) that many things are added vnto those articles as thoughe they were not sufficient: & so as though the edifice shuld neuer be builded, the new inuentions of men haue daply ben brought in. Furthermore we say, that whatsoeuer hath ben buylded & set vp more, was not (so far as we can perceiue) builded vpon those ancient & first foundations: & therefore they do not only, not set forth & beautifie the building, but also wonderfully defile, deforme, and disgrace the same: & yet notwithstanding greater credite and authoritie hath bene giuen vnto those fayned inuentions of men, than to the pure worde of God. This is the summe of those things whiche we beleeue and teach.

But to the end our purpose may be the better vnderstād, these things whiche we haue touched generally, we will (if it may seeme good) declare particularly. Therfore we do affirme, and are persuaded that we may defend with al sobrietie and modestie out of the worde of God, that the true God *In the manner of obtaining Saluation.*

in whome we beléeue, is spoyled and robbed of his perfecte righteousnesse, if we set against his wrathe and indgement for sinne, any other satisfaction or purgation, eyther in this world, or in any other worlde, than the sounde and perfecte obedience, the which can be found in no other, saving in Iesus Christ only. In lyke manner also, if we shall saye that God doth forgiue onely parte of our sinnes, that we maye bring vnto him the other parte, we spoyle hym wholly of his mercy. Hereupon it followeth, that when we speake of the manner of saluation, we muste stay our selues in the passion and death of Christ Iesus our Sauiour and redéemer onely: or elles we must appoint in the place of the true God, some straunge and fayned God, which is neyther perfectly iuste, nor perfectly mercyfull. Hereupon also dependeth another speciall poynte, and of great force, concerning the office of Iesus Christ. For except he abone be wholly our saluation, that precious name Iesus, that it to say, a Sauiour, béeing gyuen to him of the Angell, dothe not appertayne vnto him.

In like maner also, except he be our only Prophet, which hath so fully declared vnto vs the will of his father, as shoulde be expedient for our saluation: firste by the mouth of his Prophetes: then by himselfe with his comming at the fulnesse of tyme, and after that by his Apostles: except also he alone be the spirituall King of our consciences: and except he be our euerlasting Priesste after the order of Melchisedech, and by that sacrifice of himselfe only, once offered for al, and neuer to be offered againe, hath reconcyled men vnto God: and doth also now alone in heauen make intercessiō for vs to God, euen to the end of the world: And to be shorte, except we be complete & perfect in him, that name of Messias or Chryst, that is to say Anoynted, and appoynted of God the Father, for vs to be a Sauiour, dothe nothing at all belong vnto him. Therefore if the preaching of his worde out of the bookes of the Prophetes and Apostles be made in-

sufficient,

ſufficiente, he is ſpoyled of his prophetical office: if newe lawes be made, and layde vpon the conſciences of men, he ſhould be depriued of his kingly maieſtie: And if he be offered again for remiſſion of ſinnes, & otherwayes alſo be found out to pacifie the wrath of God, although it ſhoulde not be ſufficient to haue one Aduocate and Mediator in heauen betwæne God & mẽ, he ſhould be defrauded of his Prieſthood. Thirdely we agrée not, neyther in the definition, neither in the originall, nor in the effectes of faythe, which by the authoritie of the Apoſtle Paule we call Juſtifying: by whiche only, we affirme that Jeſus Chriſt with all his graces, is made ours.

As touching good workes, if there be any that thinke we contemne them, they are vtterly deceyued: For we ſeparate no more, fayth from loue, than we ſeparate lighte & heate from fire. And with John we ſay, He which ſayth hee knoweth God, and keepeth not his commaundementes, is a lyer. But in theſe thinges we confeſſe we diſagrée in three ſpeciall poyntes. Firſt of all in the originall of good workes, that is to ſaye, from whence they come: Secondely, what thoſe good workes are: And thirdely to what vſe they are good. As touching the firſt principall pointe, we finde no other frée will in man than that whiche is made frée by the grace of Chriſte, and we affirme that our nature, being in that ſtate, into the which it is falne, hath nede not onely to be holpen and ſuſteined, but rather to be mortified, and as it were killed by the power of the holy Ghoſt: which founde our nature not only weakned in grace, but alſo deſtitute of all ſtrength, and enemie to all goodneſſe, and deade, yea and putrified in ſinne and corruption. And this honor we giue wholly vnto God, neither do we think that in this matter we ought in any wiſe to be ioyned with God. For we aſſigne to his grace and mercie, the beginning, the middle, and the ende of working in vs. Concerning the ſeconde pointe. We acknowledge no other rule of righteouſneſſe and obe-

In the matter of faythe and good works.

dience which may stande before God, than his commaundements whiche are faithfully described and put downe to vs in his worde: to the whiche we thinke it not meete, that any creature should adde any thing that apertaineth to the building of mens consciences, or detract from the same. Concerning the thirde point, namely to what vse these good workes are profitable. We confesse that so far forthe as they come from the spirite of God working in vs, hauing their beginning from so good an originall, they are good, and ought to be called by that name: howbeit, if God would examine thē according to the rigour of his iustice, he should finde many things in them worthy of condemnation. We say also that they are profitable for an other vse: because by them our God is glorified, & men brought to the knowledge of him: but we are perswaded that for so much as the holy Ghost is within vs (for he is certainly knowne by those effects) we are of the number of his elect, and of those that are predestinate to saluation. But for so much as it cōmeth in question to knowe by what title the kingdome of God appertayneth vnto vs: we say with S. Paule, Eternal life is the free gift of God, and not a due reward of our merits. For by this means Christ Iesus doth iustifie vs with his righteousnesse onely, which is imputed vnto vs, sanctifieth vs with his holynesse only, giuen vnto vs, & redeemeth vs with his only sacrifice imputed vnto vs, by true & liuely faith of the grace & liberalitie of our God. All these riches & treasures are giuen vnto vs by the power of the holy Ghost, vsing the preching of Gods word, & the administration of the sacraments to this ende: not as though it hath need of those means (for God is omnipotent) but because so it pleaseth him to apply & cōforme himself vnto vs, & by these ordinarie meanes to create & nourish in vs ỹ most precious gift of faith, which is as it wer at hand to apprehend & take hold of those gifts, & as it were a vessell to receiue Christ w̄ al his riches, to saluation. Moreouer we receiue only & imbrace for ỹ word of God, the doctrine con-

Rom. 3.

tained

tained in the bokes of the Prophets & Apostls, called by the name of ỹ old & new Testament. For who can assure & certifie vs of our saluatiō, but they which without exception ar the gretest witnesses? And as touching the authoritie of the doctors of ancient time, & general coūcels, before they be receiued without any examination: first they shuld be compared with ỹ scriptures, & then thēselues, with thēselues, for so much as the holy ghost is by no means contrarie to himself. The which (my Lords) I think ye wil neuer take in hand, & if ye do, giue vs this leaue that we may sæ ỹ matter before if we beleue that ye wil not do it. But what? Are we of the progenie of that wicked Cham, which vncouered the priuities of his father Noe? Do we think our selues to be better learned than so many græk & latine doctors? Are we so wise in our own conceites that we think ỹ we are the first which haue opened the truth? Are we so arrogant, as to condemne the whole world of error? God forbid, yea that be far from vs. Notwithstanding my Lords, we trust you will graunt, vs this, that euery ancient councel & euery doctor ought not to be receiued rashely, for so much as there haue ben long ago many false prophets in the church of God, as the Apostle in many places teacheth vs. Secōdly, as touching those doctors which ar to be receiued, seing al truth which may be found in thē, necessarily ought to be drawn from ỹ scriptures, what sounder way shall we finde to profit in their writings, than to examine all things by that touchstone, namely by ỹ welwayed resons & cōsidered testimonies of scripture, by which we ought to interpret thē? No mā truly can giue vnto them more, thā they wold giue vnto thēselues: And these are the very words of Hierom writing vpō the Epist. of the Gala. The doctrine of the holy Ghost is that which is contained in the Canonical bokes of scripture: against which to decree any thing by coūcels, is not lauful. And S. Aug. writing to Fortunat[us] saith we must not so much esteme of the disputations of mē, although they be catholike & of great authoritie, as we must esteme of the Cano-

The authoritie Gods word, & of the Fathers.

He speaketh to the Prelates.

1. Timo. 4. Act. 20.

Aust. ad Fortunatus.

Canonicall Scripture: except it bee lawfull for vs, ſauing the reuerence due to thoſe men, to miſlyke and reiect ſomewhat in their writings, if it be founde that they haue iudged otherwiſe than the truth will beare, which wee or any others by the grace of God do knowe. This is myne opinion in other mens wrytings: and ſuch do I wiſhe the readers of my works to be. The like wordes alſo he hath in his.112. Epiſtle: Alſo in.37. cha. of his ſecond booke againſt Creſcon. In like maner S. Cyprian ſayth, VVe muſt not haue regarde what this or that man doth before vs, but what Chriſte Ieſus hath done, who is before all. Like vnto this is the rule whiche S. Auguſtine gaue to Hierome: And in an other place alſo when hee diſputeth againſte thoſe which woulde vſe the Councell of *Ariminum*: Neyther will I (ſaith he) alleage the Councell of *Nice* againſt you: nor ſhall you alleage the Councell of *Ariminum* againſte me. By the authoritie of Scripture lette vs weye matter with matter: cauſe with cauſe: and reaſon with reaſon. Chryſoſtome was of the ſame opynion, as may appeare in his.49. Homely vpon Mathew. For the Church is founded vpon the foundation of the Prophetes & Apoſtles.

Therefore (to conclude this matter) we embrace the holy Scripture for the ful and perfect declaration of al things, which appertayne to our ſaluation. But as touching that which appertaineth to generall councels, and to the bookes of the fathers, we meane to vſe them, and we forbid not you to vſe them ſo farre forth as that which ye ſhall bring from them, be not diſagreeing with the worde of God. But for Gods ſake bring not in their bare authoritie, vntill al thinges are examined by the Scriptures. For we ſaye with S. Auguſtine in his ſeconde booke *De doctrina Chriſtiana*: the.6. chapter. If there bee any difficultie in the interpretation of Scriptures, the holy Ghoſte hath ſo tempered the Scriptures that what ſoeuer in one place is obſcurely ſpoken, in another place is more playnely and euidently reuealed. And thus far concerning that Article, the whiche I haue proſecuted the more

more largely, to the ende all men maye knowe that we are enimies neither to generall Councels, nor yet to the auncient Fathers.

There remayne yet to speake of two articles, namely concerning the Sacraments, and Ecclesiasticall discipline. The first truely deserueth a copious and long tractation, by reason of the often and great controuersies euen at this day concerning the same: but because it is not our purpose to dispute, but onely to declare the speciall pointes of our confession, it seemeth enough to me to explicate the summe of our faithe. We agree as I thinke, in the description of the name of the Sacrament: namely that Sacramentes are visible signes, by the meanes and helpe whereof, the coniunction which we haue with our Lord Iesus Christ, is not only simply signified or figured, but is also truely offered vnto God, and is confirmed, sealed, and as it were grauen by the power of the holy Ghost in their mynds, which with a true faith apprehend that, which is so signified and offered vnto them. I vse this word, Signified, not to weaken or abolishe the Sacramentes: but to the ende I might distinguishe the signe from the thing signified. Herevpon we confesse, that it is alwayes necessarie in Sacramentes, that there be a heauenly and supernaturall change: for we say not, that the water in Baptisme is simply water, but a true Sacrament of our regeneration, and of the washing of our soules by the bloude of Christe. Neither do we say, that the breade in the holy Supper of our Lorde Iesus Christe, is simply breade: but a Sacramente of the precious body of Christe Iesus, whiche was giuen for vs, and that the wine is not simply wine, but a Sacrament of his precious bloud, which he hath shed for vs. Neuertheles we deny that there is any change made in substance of the signes, but in the ende and vse for the which they are instituted. We denie also that the same mutation is made by the efficacie of certaine wordes pronounced, neyther by the intention of him that pronounceth them:

The opinion of the reformed Churches cõcerning the Sacrament.

them: but by his wil only which hath ordeined this heauenly and diuine action: the institution also wherof, ought euidently and playnly to be expounded in the vulgar tongue, that all men might vnderstand and receiue the same. Thus muche concerning externall signes. Nowe to come to that which is shewed and exhibited by those signes. We say not that which many do, who not well vnderstãding our myndes, haue supposed that we haue taught: namely that in the Lords supper ther is only a cõmemoration of the death of our Lord Iesus Christe. Neither do we say, that we are partakers of the frutes of his death & passion onely in that thing, but do ioyne the ground it self with the frutes whiche do come fro him to vs: affirming with S. Paul, The bread which we breake according to the Lords institution is κοινωνία, that is to say, ỳ participatiõ of ỳ bodie of Christ, which was crucified for vs: The cup which we drinke is the participation of his very bloud which was shed for vs, yea cuẽ in ỳ verie same substance, which he toke in ỳ wombe of the virgin: & which he caried vp into heauen. Behold I pray you, can ye fynd any thing in this Sacrament which we sẽke, & find not? But me thinks I heare some body make answer. For many wold haue vs to confesse ỳ the bread & the wine are changed, not into the sacraments of the body & bloud of our Sauior Iesus Christ, but into the very bodie & bloud of our Lord. Other some peraduẽture wil not so vrge vs, but wil haue vs cõfesse that the body & bloud is really & corporally in, with, or vndeṙ bread & wine. But here my Lordes, I pray you heare me paciently a little, & for a time suspend your iudgements. If either of these opinions shall be proued vnto vs out of the worde of God to be true, we are redy to imbrace it, and wholly to reteine it. But it semeth vnto vs (according to the measure of oure faith,) that this Transubstantiation cannot be reuoked or brought to the analogie & substance of faith, and to sounde doctrine, bicause it is wholly repugnant to the nature of Sacramentes: in whiche

Coinonian.

1. Cor. 10.

Transubstantiation.

which it is necessarie that there remaine substãtial signes, ẏ they may be true signes of the body ⁊ blod of Jesu Chriſt. Furthermoꝛe it doth euert and confound the veritie of the humane nature in Chriſt, ⁊ of his ascentiõ. And as my opiniõ is of Trãſubſtantiatiõ euẽ ſo is it alſo of Conſubſtãtiatiõ: which hath no groũd in the woꝛds of Chriſte, neither is it neceſſary to this, that we be partakers of the Sacraments. But if any mãn demaund of vs if we make Chriſt to be abſent frõ the ſupper: we anſwer that we do not ſeparate him from the ſupper. But if we haue reſpect vnto the diſtãce of places (as we muſt of neceſſitie whẽ we ſpeake of his coꝛporal preſence ⁊ of his humanitie diſtinctly conſidered) we affirme that his body is ſo far abſent from the bꝛead ⁊ wine as the heauen is abſent from the earth, foꝛ ſo much as we ⁊ the ſacraments are in earth, but he is ſo gloꝛified in heauẽ, that his gloꝛie (as S. Auguſt. ſaith) hath not takẽ away the veritie of his bodie, but the infirmitie of his bodye. If any man herebyon gather that we ſeparate Chriſt frõ the Supper, he gathereth amiſſe. Foꝛ we do bꝛing this honoꝛ vnto God, ẏ although the body of Jeſu Chriſt be in heauen ⁊ no where elſe, and we in earth ⁊ no where elſe, yet notwithſtanding we are no leſſe partakers of his body ⁊ bloud, by a certaine ſpirituall maner ⁊ inſtrumẽt of faith, than we truly ſee with our eyes ẏ ſacramẽts, touch thẽ with our hands, taſt them with our mouthes, ⁊ are nouriſhed ⁊ ſuſtained in this coꝛporal life with their ſubſtance. This truely, in fewe woꝛds, is our faith in this point, ẏ which we thinke, is not repugnant to ẏ woꝛds of Chriſt, noꝛ to ẏ Apoſtle Paule, ⁊ deſtroyeth not ẏ humane nature of Chriſt, neither ẏ article of the aſcention, noꝛ the ſacramentall inſtitution, it giueth no occaſion to bꝛing in curious ⁊ obſcure queſtions: it doth by no meanes derogate frõ the coniunction which we haue wt̃ Chriſt, which is ẏ ſpeciall end of oꝛdaining of ſacramẽts, not to ẏ end ẏ it might be either woꝛſhipped, laid vp, caryed about, oꝛ to be offered vnto God foꝛ a ſacrifice: to be ſhoꝛt,

Conſubſtantiation.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

(except we be deceiued) it giueth more to the power and to the wordes of the Sonne of God, than their opinion, which thinke that his body must be really ioyned with signes, to the ende we might be partakers of him.

But concerning the administration of Baptisme we say nothing at all. For I beleeue that there is none of you that accounteth vs in the number of Anabaptistes, because they haue no greater enemies against them thã we. As touching certaine other particular questions in this argument of Sacramentes, we trust God willing, that the speciall articles being brought to some order, by this modest and quiet conference, the rest shall of themselues easily followe. As touching the other fiue Sacraments, as ye call them, thus we thinke, that vntill we be better taught by the Scriptures, they cannot be called by the name of Sacraments: but notwithstanding, we think that we haue brought in the true cõfirmation, which standeth in this, that so many as are baptised in their infancie, and all others, whatsoeuer, before they come to the Lordes Supper, maye be instructed in the Cathechisme.

Confirmation

We teach also true repentance, whiche consisteth in the true acknowledging of sinnes, and in satisfaction either publiquely or priuately, of the parties offended, also in absolution whiche we haue in the bloud of Iesus Christ, and in amendement of life.

We do allowe Patrimonie according to S. Paule, in all those whiche haue not the gifte of continencie: and we thinke it vnlawfull for any man to bynde himselfe with a perpetual vowe to leade a continent life, and neuer to marry: and we condemne all fornication & lightnesse in word, gesture, and deede. We allowe the degrees of ecclesiasticall offices, euen as God hath ordeined them in his house. We allowe visitation of sicke persones, as the speciall parts of the Ministerie of the Gospell. We teach, with S. Paule, that no man ought to be iudged for choyce in days, & meats,

for

for the kingdome of God doth not consiste in those corruptible and externall thinges. The last point to speake of, is of external order and gouernement of the ecclesiastical State, of the which we think it lawful for vs to say, by your leaue, that all things are so corrupted, that very hardely, the notes and printes of that auncient building very well ordered & appointed by the Apostles, can be seene. Of the which matter you your selues maye be witnesses, whiche toke some paines not long agoe herein. But we omitte these matters, the whiche we thinke better not to disclose than to vtter. And to conclude this Oration, we protest before God and his Angels, before your Maiestie, (moste Christian king) and before this honorable assembly, that our purpose and meaning is nothing else, but to bring the state of the Church to that puritie and perfection, in the which it so greatly florished in the Apostles tyme: and that so many of those additions, as should be found either superstitious, or else manifestly against the worde of God, might quite be abolished and counted superfluous: also that all thinges might be taken awaye whiche (experience teaching) bring men to superstition. But if certaine thinges be founde profitable and necessarie to edification, firste consider of them wisely by the auncient Canons and authorities of the Fathers, then let them be obserued and kepte as it shall be thought expedient and meete for the times, places, and persones: that so with one consent God maye be worshipped in spirite and truth, vnder your obedience (O King) and the obedience of those whome God hath appointed to your Maiestie to gouerne the Realme. For if there be any yet whiche thinke that the doctrine which we professe, dothe withdrawe men from their dutifull obedience to Kinges and Magistrates: we haue to answere them. For this we teach that the firste and principall obedience is due vnto God, whiche is King of Kings, and Lord of Lordes. But if our writings may not suffise to cleare vs of that crime layd to our charge, we wil

Ecclesiasticall discipline.

Obedience to Magistrates.

bring forth many examples of principalities, of rules, and of kingdomes, that haue bene reformed by the preceipt of our doctrine, which may be sufficient witnesses of our innocencie. To be short in this point we say with S. Paule, Let euery soule submit himself to the authoritie of the higher powers. Yea and Chrisostome writing vpon that place, saith, Yea, let him submit him selfe, though he be an Apostle or Euangelist, because that subiectiō doth not derogate from the glory of God. Wherefore if it shall come to passe hereafter that any man falsely professing oure doctrine, shall be found to rebel, but against the least of your officers, we protest before God and your maiestie (O king) that such kind of men shall not be of vs, neither shal they finde more mortall enimyes against them than we. Therfore (O king) our desire to aduance ỳ glory of God, our obedience & loue which we owe to your Maiestie, our loue also towards our countrey, & specially to the Church of God, haue brought vs into this place, trusting ỳ the most mighty God according to his accustomed mercy and goodnesse, will blesse you no lesse thā he did ỳ yōg king Iosias: & that by your most happie gouernmēt (O Quéene) & by your coūsels (most honorable Princes, & coūsellers) the ancient memory of ỳ famous Quéene Clotilda, shal be renued: whose diligence ỳ Lord vsed as a meane to make himself knowne throughout this Realme. This is our hope (most mightie king) for the which we are ready to spende our liues & ỳ obeying your maiestie in this so godly a matter, we may sée ỳ golden world, where oure Lorde and Sauiour Iesus Christ raigneth with all honour and glory for euer and euer.

Thus far *Beza* proceded in his oration: who with his fellowes fell on their knees, and standing vp straight way againe, offred vnto the king the confession of the Churches of *Fraunce*, and then he spake thus vnto him: We beséeche your Maiestie not to regarde oure rude and barbarous speache, but our well wishing mindes wholy consecrated to

obedience

obedience. But, bicause the principall poinctes of oure doctrine, are more plainly and copiously contained in this confession of our faith, we beseech your Maiestie to receiue the the same: and we trust (by the leaue of God) it will come to passe that when we haue conferred together with all sobrietie and reuerence we shall come to some agreement. But if our iniquities be the cause that we may not obtaine so greate a blessing, we doubte not but your Maiestye will consyder of all thinges, and prouide for them accordingly, without preiudice of any partie.

And here we thinke it not good to let one thing passe, namely, that when *Beza* intreated of the Lords supper, and spake these wordes, As touching the distance of places, the bodie of Christ is so far from the bread and wine, as the heauen is higher than the earth: the Prelates were so moued, that by and by they began to make disturbance, and to murmur, but this being somewhat quieted, *Beza* made an ende of his oration. After whom the Cardinall of *Turnon*, hauing great indignation, and shaking and trembling for very anger began in the name of the Popishe Prelatie (of which he was chiefe) to declare vnto the king, that the Cardinall, Bishoppes, and the reste of their fellowship, by reason of the kings commaundemente, gaue their consente that the newe Euangelikes (for so he termed the menne of the reformed Churches) shoulde be hearde what they coulde saye, but notwithstanding, not without some offence of their consciences, bycause they perceyued that they myghte speake manye things not meete for a Christian Prince to heare: which might also, (and that not without cause,) offende the mindes of many good men. Therfore he sayd, that the Prelates suspecting that it woulde so come to passe, had giuen hym commaundement to intreate the King, that if any suche matters fell oute he woulde not in any wyse beleeue their wordes. And that therefore he would reiect both the

the wordes and sentence of that fellowe, that had spoken in the name of those of the new Religion: staying and suspending his iudgement vntill the Prelates hadde otherwyse opened the matter; the which if it might please him, he trusted that both the king, and the whole assembly shoulde vnderstand & see, what difference there was betwen the truth and a lye.

He required also, that he might haue a daye giuen him to answere. Adding that had it not bene for the regarde they hadde vnto the King, and to his commaundementes, they would not, at the hearing of those horrible and abhominable wordes which that other fellowe vttered, haue suffered him to haue proceeded any further. At the length he beseeched the King that he would follow the faith and foteſteps of his auncestors: the whiche he prayed all the Saintes in heauen, and the Virgin Mary to graunt.

The Queene answereth the Cardinall of Turnon.

To this the Queene answered that nothing was done in this matter without due aduice and counsell, by the deliberation of the Princes, and the priuie Councell, and by the iudgement and consent of the Senate of *Paris*. The whiche (she sayd) was not done to alter any thing in Religion, but to quiet the troubles that were ryſen through the diuerſitie of opinions in Religion, and by these means to bring those that were gone astraye into the way againe. Which (sayth she) you and your fellowes ought to seeke, specially at this time, by vsing good and strong argumentes.

Thus the mynds of the Popiſhe Prelates being galled, and very much grieued at the first meeting, with the wordes of Theodore Beza, the daye following, he writ vnto the Queene, saying, bycause he feared that she was not fully satisfied, by reason of certen wordes wherat the Prelats were offended: therfore he earnestly desired of hir, that he might haue libertie more plainly & largely to discourse that matter, which then he could not copiously declare. The occaſion therfore (saith he) of those wordes by me vttered, was the

opinion

opinion of certaine men, which not wel vnderstanding our
mindes, thought that we went about to exclude Christ frō
the Supper: the which to doe were manifestly wicked, see-
ing we haue the contrary to be found in the word of God,
namely, that, that precious Sacrament was therefore or-
dayned by the sonne of God, that he might make vs more
and more partakers of the substance of his verye body and
blonde, whereby we might more straightly be vnited vnto
him and might growe to euerlasting life: And vnlesse it
should be so, it were not the Supper of Iesu Christ. And
therefore it is so far from vs that we should say that Christ
is absent from the Supper, that none of all others, more
resiste that blasphemie than we. But we saye that there is
great difference betweene these, to say that Iesus Christ is
in the Supper in that he gyueth truely vnto vs his bodye
and blonde, and to say and affirme, that his bodye & blonde
is ioyned to the bread.

That first I haue affirmed, because it is the principall &
chiefe, the seconde I haue denyed, because I thinke it to be
repugnant to the truth of Christ his nature, and to the arti-
cle of the ascention, as it is in Scripture, and as the ancient
fathers expounde the same. This sentence and opinion gy-
ueth more dignitie and authoritie to the words of God, thā
that, which teacheth that Christe is really and corporally
ioyned to signes. This therefore is the declaration & mea-
ning of that which we spake, which I desyre may satisfie
you: being ready to be taught if better be shewed. To this
also he added certaine testimonies of the Fathers. As of S.
Augustine, writing vpon the. 5. Chapter of S. John, where
he saith: VVhen our Sauiour Christ saide ye shall not haue
me alwayes with you: he spake of the presence of his bo-
die. For, according to his Maiestie, prouidence, and inuisible
grace, that which he promised in another place, is fulfilled: I
will be with you to the ende of the world: But according to
his humane nature which he toke, according to that, that he

„ was borne of the virgin Mary, that he was crucifyed, & bu-
„ ried, and rose againe, it is said: Me, ye shall not haue alwayes.
„ VVherfore? Bicause according to his body, he was conuersant
„ with his disciples fortie dayes, and as they wente wyth him,
„ ascended from them into heauen, neither is heere any more.
„ **Also the same Saint** Augustine **saith, writing to** Dardanus.
„ As he is God, he is euery where: As he is man, he is in hea-
„ uen. **And** Vigilius, **whiche wrote againste** Eutyches **in the**
„ **yeare of our Lorde God** 500, **sayth,** The sonne of God in re-
„ specte of his humanitie is departed from vs: but in respect of
„ his diuinitie he saith, I am with you to the end of the world.
„ He is with vs, and he is not with vs: for he hath not forsaken
„ those, in respecte of his diuinitie, whome he hath forsaken,
„ and from whom he is departed in respecte of his humanitie.
„ **Moreouer he sayth,** VVhen his flesshe was in earthe, it was
„ not truely in heauen: but nowe bicause it is in heauen, it is
„ not, no doubte, in earth. **Againe he sayth,** The onely sonne
„ of God, which was also man, is contayned in one place, ac-
„ cording to the nature of his flesshe: And is not contained in
„ any place according to the nature of his Diuinitie.

Nowe in the meane time, while these things were thus a working, the Prelates came together, and certaine of the Papisticall doctours of the Canon lawe, beyng made acquainted wyth the matter, did deliberate and consulte together what answere they were beste to gyue to the reformed Churches. Here it is reported that the Cardinall of *Lorayne* **sayde,** I would to God that eyther he were dumbe, or elle wee deafe and coulde not heare. **The matter beyng diuersely reasoned and considered of on bothe sides, at the laste it was concluded, that answere shoulde be made, to two speciall pointes of the oration: the firste poynt concerning the Churche: and the seconde poynt concernyng the Lordes Supper.**

They did also deliberate, whether it were not good to haue a confession made, which shoulde be offered to the protestants

sectaries, but if their chosen men, which were appointed to dispute for them had denied to imbrace the same, that then they should haue the sentence of condemnation pronoũced against them as heretikes: & so the disputation shuld ende. But this their deuise was not fully concluded vpõ, for that many of them would not agree vnto the same. And when ỳ ministers of the reformed Churches heard of this deuise, they complained to the king & Quæne that the matter was not indifferently handled, beseching them that the fruit and profite of the conference might not be hindred by these plat formes and subtill deuises.

Therfore the conference began againe the sixtene day of September the king & Quæne, the king of *Nauar*, and the Princes the kings kinsmẽ being present. And here the Cardinall of *Loraine* first of all spake very largely in the behalfe of the Prelates, concerning the obedience of his fellowes towards the king, ỳ which they acknowledged to owe vnto him by the commaundement of God, & confessed that they wold gladly giue the same vnto him. Notwithstanding that the king ought to haue great care to defend the Church, not as heade, but as a member of the same: and, that in those things which appertaine to doctrine, he ought to be subiecte to the Church, and to the ministers thereof, as the expresse testimonies of scripture, and the examples of the ancient fathers doe declare. Therefore (saith he) we doe make this the grounde of all our reasons, that all obedience ought to be giuen to the king. But comming more nere to his matter, he declareth ỳ the assembly whose cause he had in hand did consist of Archbishops, of Bishops ordinarily made, of Priests, of Canons, & of a great nũber of others. Whose legate (saith he) I am, & this is ỳ sum of my imbassage. Wher as many to my great griefe were fallen from the Church not long a go professing the contrary Religion, neither submitting thẽselues to their owne constitutiõs, being within these few dayes called thither by the kings cõmaundemẽt,

The seconde session.

The oration of the Cardinal of Loraine.

Note here the subiection of Papistes.

had declared some good will to profite: if they would come againe into their cuntrey and into the ancient house of the Fathers, they shall be receiued, and haue nothing ỳ is past cast in their teeth: if so be ỳ they wil shew themselues penitent, and will become obedient children to the Churche. Therefore I will frame my selfe according to their infirmities: being glad that they professe with vs the articles of our faith: and I hartely wishe that as in words so in iudgement we maye agree together. Therefore I will answere them in the spirite of loue and modestie. But I will handle onely two articles, because it will be to tedious to intreate of euery one of them particularly.

And the two articles whereof I will speake, are concerning the Churche, and concerning the Lordes Supper.

Wherfore, concerning the firste, it is not true That the Church doth consist only of the Elect, because in the Lords barne the chaffe is mingled with the wheate: and yet notwithstanding the Church cannot erre.

But if some part of the Church shoulde erre, the whole body ought to be preferred before one corrupte member: if any euill should crepe in, then we muste haue recourse to antiquitie, and muste haue respecte to the chiefe and principall Churches, among which the Church of *Rome* hath had alwayes the principall place. If any thing were founde to be amisse in some particular place of the Church, we must set against the Ignorance of a small number of men, the decrees of the auncient and of the generall Counsels. But if this thing maye not suffice, we muste diligently seeke for the iudgements of the approued fathers of the Catholique Churche: notwithstanding we must specially giue place to the testimonies of Scripture, being expounded by the true voyce and interpretation of the Church, least heretikes shoulde bragge and saye that they alone haue the worde of God. For the Catholique Churche must giue authoritie to the word of God. The which order, because the *Arrians* kept not

not, they fell into great mischiefes: into which destruction they also are like to fal, which seyng not the beame in their owne eyes, are very busie to plucke out the moate in other mens eyes. As touching the seconde pointe, which concerneth the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, I must needes confesse that I and the whole Clergie are greatly greeued to see that the blessed Sacrament of the *Eucharistie*, which the Lorde left vnto vs to be a bonde and pledge of peace and vnitie, should by curiositie of searching out of deepe matters, be after a sort, an occasion not onely of infinite controuersies, but also of forsaking the truth, which maye scarcely be kepte among these controuersies. For in the *Eucharistie* we ought to consider foure things. The firste is the vnion and concorde, which ought to be among the faithfull, according to, that which the Apostle saith, that VVe are one body, and partakers of one cup. The second is the vnion with Christ Jesus, as it is sayd, He which eateth my flesshe and drinketh my bloude abideth in me, and I in him. The thirde is remission of sinnes, which is purchased by the effusion of Christe his bloude. The fourth is, the hope of euerlasting life, according to that which is writte, He which eateth this bread shall liue for euer. But the contrary doth happen in this disputation, namely distractions and diuisions in the Church, the separation from God, the losse of remission of sinnes, & of the hope of euerlasting life. Diuers and sundrye are the controuersies of oure aduersaries concerning this matter, of the which there are eight in number. It is better to abide in the approued opinion and iudgemente of the Catholike Church, which is, that the very body of God & of our Lord Jesus Christ & his very bloude also, is present and receiued in this Sacrament: according as it is sayd, This is my bodie. The which wordes, excepte they be in deede of as great force as they sounde and seeme to be, why are they so diligently repeated in like wordes of all the Euangelistes and of the Apostle Paule also? Why did not the other three

The opinió of the Cardinall of Loraine concerning the Sacrament.

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Euangelistes, & the Apostle Paule, which wrote after Mathew, writ after that maner ẏ our Sacramentaries would write? specially seyng in a matter of lesse waight they doe one of them expounde another: and that which one of them setteth forth obscurely, another plainely declareth. This is the mynde of the Testator, which by no maner of meanes ought to be disalowed or violated: This is also the iudgement and doctrine of all the ancient writers, that not onely the breade is giuen by the Priest, but also the very body of Christ really. Therefore I imbrace this stable & holesome opinion, and I doe abhorre with all my hearte the curious opinions and sayings of these newe men, which seme so to represent Christe, as if they shoulde bring him forthe in a Tragedie or Comedie. As thoughe it were not better to retaine and kepe the simple wordes of our Lorde and sauiour than the false imaginations of men, seyng that this is most firme and certaine, that we are not onely ioyned to Christe by faithe, but also by the force and efficacie of the *Eucharistie*, beyng rightlye, worthily and really receyued, yea, and to speake more playnelye, Substantially, Naturally, and Corporally.

And here he alledged many things out of the ancient fathers: and plainely reprehended *Beza*, bicause he vsed the words of Austen in his epistle to Dardanus, in this matter of the Sacramentes, seyng in that epistle he intreated nothing at all of the Sacramentes, & also bicause he had condemned the opinion of certaine *Germaines*, concerning Consubstantiation, contrarye to his owne opinion. And then he concluded his oration with these wordes: I come & yelde (sayth he) to your opinion of the Sacramente, excepte ye thinke that Iesus Christe, as touching his flesche, is in this worlde from the time of his ascention, and that, more newe than he was before he toke vpon him our flesche: excepte ye thinke that Christ hath some other bodye than that whiche is visible: excepte ye thinke that he is otherwise in the Sacrament

crament than in the preaching of the worde: if ye thinke it to be all one to put on Christ in Baptisme, and to eate his body and bloude: and to be shorte, if ye thinke, that he is so in heauen that he is not in earth also: and that he is no otherwise in the Supper than he is in the Myer: we which are taughte that the Supper is not in heauen, but celebrated in earth, and which are not so curious that we woulde by ingenius and wise speculations bryng and separate Christe from the Supper. to answere you fullye, affirme that we are so far from your opinion, as the heauen is hyer from the lowest parte of the earth. Let them therefore se and consider which iudge and examine oure Religion not by Philosophie, but by Diuinitie, which of vs two doe attribute more to the power of God, and to Iesus Christ. And so praying to God to rote out these daungerous and deadly opinions, and not to sufferr these controuersies to be in his Churche, he exhorted the king and the Quæne, that they woulde take vpon them the patrocinie and defence of thys matter: and protested in the name of the Prelates of the French Churche that he would liue and die in the defence of this doctrine which he had set forth.

After this all the Prelates which were present rose vp, and came nere vnto the king, and in their name the Cardinal of *Turnon* protested that this was the confessiō of their faith which they woulde seale with their owne bloude, being the vndoubted truth of ỹ holy mother the Church. The which the king oughte to imbrace and followe, according to the manner and example of his elders. But if they whiche had separated themselues from the Churche of *Rome*, would subscribe to that confession, then they shoulde be receyued and be heard more fully in other articles in the which they sayde they woulde be satisfyed, otherwyse they oughte not to be hearde at all. And it is the kinges parte to banishe them oute of his Realme: the which he most earnestly desired him to doe. The protestation of the Prelates.

Then

Then *Beza* vehemently desired of the King by and by leaue to make answere oute of hande to the oration of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*. For the ministers feared that they shoulde haue no more leaue to come together againe, fame reporting euery where, that the prelates had determined, from that day forward to deale with them no more but by excommunications. Notwithstanding thoughe the Ministers that day could obtaine no leaue to answere, yet obtained they another day, the which neuertheless by reason of diuers rumors, was deferred vntill the day following. Because of these detractions of times, the ministers fearing that the disputation shoulde be ended, they determined to offer vnto the King a supplication, praying him, that, for so much as, at his commaundement they were come thether from so far countreys, quietly to confer with the Prelates for the roting out of errors, which so manye yeares had oppressed the Church, they mighte haue leaue to confer together, and to declare their cause, & that he him selfe woulde take vpon him the defence of Religion: whiche they sayde, was the meane and way to raygne and rule himself, and to preserue his kingdome in peace and tranquillitie. When they had offered this Supplication oftentymes to the King, at the last they obtayned leaue to haue the conference continued, not in publique but in priuate place.

The thirde Session in another order.

Therefore at the length the assembly was renewed agayne which a long time was broken off, a small number of men, the King and Quene, the king of *Nauarre*, the Prelates and twelue chosen Ministers, and a few others being only present. Then the Cardinall of *Loraine* began to shew, that this assembly was gathered togyther, that the Ministers might be heard what answere they would make to those things which he had lately expounded. *Beza* therfore in the name of his fellowes began thus, saying. When we haue called vpon the name of God, that he woulde aide and assist vs in a matter of so great waight, and would bring to

passe

passe that this assemblie might be gathered together to the glory of his name, to your dignitie, and specially to ỳ peace and tranquillitie of the king and Quéene, of the whole Christian common wealth, and kingdome: we will briefely answere to that which was lately propounded by the Lorde Cardinall of *Loraine*, concerning the two principall poyntes of our confession: namely concerning the Church, and the Supper of the Lorde. But if we might haue had leaue to answere at the first out of hand, when those things that were spoken were yet freshe in memory, we might haue bene able more aptly and distinctly to haue made answere. But notwithstanding we will speake as God shall make vs able, that it may be vnderstande, in what things we agree, and in what also we doe disagree: of the which I woulde to God there might be made a perfecte vnitie and concorde. Therefore concerning the first principall poynt, which is of the Church, we will declare three things. First, what the Church is: Secondly, what are ỳ markes of the Churche: and thirdly, what is the authoritie of the same. There is no doubte, but that this name, Church, was deriued of the Greeke worde, which signifieth to call from one place to another. But in the Scripture there are founde two kindes of callings. The one conioyned with the efficacie of the holy Ghost, of which there is mention made in the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romaines, in these wordes: Those whome God hathe iustified, he hathe called. The other although it be all one with the first, as touching the externall matter, yet notwithstanding it is of no efficacie, as touching saluation, not that God is to be blamed therefore, but thorough mans default, which will not heare the worde of God. Of this thing the Lorde speaketh when he saythe, Manye are called, but fewe are chosen. Herevpon it commeth that the name of the Churche, which is a congregation of men gathered together by the voyce of God, which calleth them, is taken two maner of wayes. For if it be taken generally

What is the Church.

Rom. 8.

for all those which doe externally professe that they doe answere to Gods calling, then there is no doubt, but so many reprobates and hipocrites are comprehended. And thus truly haue we alwayes both writtē and taught with one consent, seyng that matter is very common in the Scriptures. But if this worde or name Churche be taken more properlye and strictlye, as oftentimes it is, then we saye that it onely comprehendeth those that are predestinate and chosen of God. And to the ende men maye perceiue that we haue not deuised nor inuented this phrase of speache, and much lesse this doctrine, when it is sayde, That the Church is the bodye of the Lorde, bones of his bones, and flesche of his flesche, how can the reprobates be comprehended in this number, seing they are the members of the Deuill? For these two things cannot agrée together, To be a member of Christ and a member of the Deuill also: the which S. Augustine well vnderstoode.

1. Cor. 12.

Augustin. contra Crescō cap 21.

This same distinction of the Churche that Author also vsed writing vpon the fyrtie foure Psalme, when he sayth, The Churche signified by Hierusalem began at Abel: and Babilon at Caine. And yet notwithstāding in this first booke of Baptisme against the Donatistes, the fyrtene chapter, taking the name of Churche more generally, he sayethe, He which begat Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, & the Prophets: begat also Cayne, Ismael, Dathan, and such others. In fine,

Lib. 7. cap. 51.

therfore, let vs take that which the same Saint Augustine hath written in the forenamed booke, where it is sayde, that there are two sortes of men, as touching the Churche: For (sayth he) some are the members of Christe and of the true Churche, and so of Gods house, that they are euen the house of God. But other some are in the house of God, but are not the house of God. For they are as the chaffe with the wheate.

Question.

But hereof there semeth to arise a question, whether the Churche be inuisible: the which semeth of necessitie to be concluded, for so muche as God onely knoweth his electe, & seing

seing also we confesse that we beleeue the holy Church: And that which is beleeued is not seene. But hereby maye come great inconuenience, if we haue not a more depe consideration of this matter. For if the matter be so, into what assemblie can we come? Where shall then be the waye of our saluation except the Churche be knowne that we may cleaue vnto Christe Jesus, seyng that he doth declare his vertue and saving health in one Churche? Therefore wee saye, that although the Churche in consideration of those things, whereof we spake euen nowe, can not be seene of men, yet notwithstanding we haue certain notes to know, to what Churche we oughte to ioyne oure selues, namely, the pure worde of God, and the sincere administration of Sacramentes. The which notes are so plaine and manifest, that wheresoeuer they shall be, wee oughte to be oute of all doubte that there is the Churche of God, in so muche that by the rule of Charitie, we oughte to account all those for the faythfull Children of God, which profesſe the pure Religion, excepte God shall reueale their hipocrisie. And of this matter Saint Paule hathe giuen vnto vs a playne example, when he calleth the Corinthians and Galathians Saints, attributing also vnto them the name of the Church although there were greate errors among them, both in corruptions of doctrine and also of manners. The which also he hath shewed in another place, when he sayth, If anye man build on this foundation Golde, Siluer, Precious stones, Tymber, Hay, or Stubble. &c. Answere. True notes of the Church. 1.Cor.3. 1.Cor.3.

Thus therefore we speake of the Churche not transforming the same into fantasticall imaginations, neyther yet (as it seemeth vnto vs) doe wee giue occasion to anye man, to counte vs in the number of suche as are fantasticall as the Catharistes, the Donatistes, and those furious Anabaptistes also that were in our time, with whome diuers of our brethren oftentimes haue contended.

Nowe therefore I come to those notes and badges of the Churche, the which we must diligently beholde, seing out of the same there is no saluation, neither anye manner of thing which Sathan our auncient enimie hath not gone about at all times to counterfaite and falsifie.

I sayde that there were two certaine and vndoubted markes, namely the preaching of the word, and the sincere administration of Sacramentes. There are some also which adde Ecclesiasticall discipline, and the fruite of the preaching of Gods worde. But bicause our iniquities will not suffer these two notes to appeare, therefore let vs content our selues with those two first.

That the word of God is a true badge and marke of the Church, it may hereby appeare, that the word is compared vnto seede. Therefore Paule sayth, that he had begotten the Corinthians in the Lorde, that is to saye, by the preaching of the worde. And therefore in manye places, it is called meate and foode, according to the saying of the Lorde: My sheepe heare my voyce, but they knowe not the voyce of a straunger. Also the sacraments are a true note of ẏ Church, bicause the Lord would instruete vs not onely by hearing, but also by seyng, and other corporall senses: in so much that he would haue the Sacramentes to be manifest testimonies, and certaine and visible notes of the vnion of the faithfull, first with him, and secondly betweene themselues. Therefore it was sayde in the time of the olde Testament: Let the man that is vncircumcised be thruste oute from among the people: and therefore the maister of every house was wont thrice euery yeare to present themselues in *Hierusalem*, that they mighte testifie the vnitie of faith and Religion by those sacrifices. Afterward, the vayle being taken away, and the cloase shut gate being broken open, the Jewes and the Gentils growe into one bodye, not onelye by the preaching of the worde, but also by Baptisme, and by the holy Sacrament of the bodye and bloud of Christe. And according

Ephe. 2.

cording to this, Christ sayd to his Apostles, Go and preache to euery creature, baptizing in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. Whereby both the word and Sacraments are noted. For that is to be ioyned with baptisme which Paule speaketh of the Supper, saying, that He gaue that which he receiued of the Lorde. And this is also the verye same whiche is saide in another place, That the Church is founded vpon the Prophetes and Apostles, that is to say, vpon Christ Iesus, which is the heade corner stone, that is to say, the matter and substance of the prophetical and Apostolical doctrine. And thus the other place of ỹ same Apostle ought to bee vnderstode, that the Churche is the strength and piller of truth, that is to say the word of God, and the same truth of God (as S. Iohn sayth) doth sustayne and holde vp the Church, as also Chrisostome interpreteth it. These are the true and visible notes of the Churche, the which Church, bicause it bringeth forthe the faithfull, and nourisheth them with the heauenly & incorruptible meate, is called their mother and Source.

But and if the worde be preached and the Sacramentes ministred, it must nedes followe that there be pastors and teachers, to whom those offices may be committed, as the scriptures in diuers places testifie, and the Apostle Paule also.

Herevpon it commeth to passe, that many adde a thirde note, namely, ordinarie succession from the time of the Apostles. To the which we answere, that suche succession ought to be greatly esteemed, so long as it is rightly considered and applyed: euen as the Fathers often times vsed the same against heretikes, as it is to be seene in Tertullia, Irenæus, and in Augustine against the Manichies and Donatistes. But bycause they set that buckler against vs, as bringers in of newe thinges: it is necessarie that we declare what we thinke of this thing. Succession in the Church.

We say that there is one succession of doctrine, and ano-

ther of persons.

The succession of doctrine we acknowledge for the true and vndoubted marke of the Churche, according to those things whereof we haue spoken before. For although the doctrine of the Gospell is neuer a whit the more worthy to be beleued for antiquitie, & although it commeth to passe by the iudgement of God, for oure iniquities, that the same is counted sometimes so newe vnto men, when it shoulde be familiar and knowne: yet notwithstanding the auncient & continuall succession doth greatly prouaile with men, euen to the farther confirming of the authoritie of the same.

As touching the succession of persons, we acknowledge the same; but vpon that conditiõ, that it be ioyned with the succession of the Prophetes & Apostles, specially in the substantiall and principall points of faith, & not otherwise. But waye and consider that I speake of doctrine, & not of maners. For although the integritie of doctrine & of life be here vnto required, that a man shoulde be counted for a good and true pastor, yet notwithstanding we do not reiecte a pastor for ignorance, or the diuersitie of opinions in smal matters of doctrine, and for maners, if so be that he kepe the foundation. Thus are we taught of Christ, who sayth, So far forth as the Scribes and Pharisies sit vpon Moises chaire, doe that which they teach, and not as they do.

The which place, S. Augustine writing vpon Ihon, saith ought to be vnderstande of hirelings, which neuertholesse retaine sound doctrine, & not of false pastors, of whõ Christ speaketh, saying, Beware of the leuen of the Pharisis. Because (sayth S. Augustine) they sit vpon Moises chaire, they teache the lawe of God, & so God speaketh by them: but if they will teach their owne doctrines, ye shall neither heare nor do that which they teach.

Therfore to come to the matter, bycause false prophetes may succæde true prophets, & wolues the true shepheards: this truely is a sounde and manifest reason, wherefore we thinke

thinke that personall succession ought not onely, not to be receiued, but also vtterly to be cõdemned, bicause it giueth place to that which is false, & craftely coloureth the same, least the succession of doctrine should be laid for the foundation. Furthermore, if personall succession should simply be taken for a true note of the Churche, we muste bring forth and shew a certaine sure promise of God, by which he hath bounde his grace to certaine definite places and Regions, the which we thinke can in no wyse be shewed oute of the newe Testament: seyng this is rather manifestly declared, that there is a certain catholique or vniuersal Church, bycause the particular members thereof are dispersed throughout the whole world, euen as it pleaseth God to shew forth his iudgements vpon those whō he hath vtterly caste off, or whō he chastiseth for a time, and to shewe his mercy and blessings vpon those, whom he preserueth, or whom he newly bringeth to the knowledge of him. For God shewing his vengeaunce in certaine places seemeth to abolishe all things, in so muche that there is no manner of signe of the Church left, as it is come to passe in all *Africa*, *Greece*, & in the whole East part of the world. But sometime that personal succession doth decay only for a little while, as it happened at *Antioch*, in the time of Samosatene, & at *Alexandri*, in the exile of Athanasius, & in many other Churches also, so long as there were heresies among them. And to be short, personall succession ceassed in the time of Honorious, who was condemned in the yeare of oure Lorde God, D. LVIII. for the execrable doctrine of Eutiches, and in the time of John the xxii. of that name, who was condemned of Heresie: excepte we shoulde saye that manyfest Heretikes maye be true pastours. I omitte to speake of those things which happened in the tyme of that womā Pope IOANE, and of the manifolde tumultes of the false vsurping Popes, which the histories make mention of.

These things therfore cõsidered, I conclude, that if we wil rightly

Successors of the Apostles.

rightly knowe the Churche, we muste not haue regarde to personall succession, but to the puritie of doctrine, & to the sincere administration of the Sacraments: in so much that we must counte them for the true successors of the Apostles which being rightly called, do build vpon their foundation: and do first of all set forth the woord of God in certaine places, whether the succession of persons be perpetual, or whether it decay or ceasse for a time.

Whereas on the contrary parte, they which either preach not the woord of God at all, or else preache their owne doctrine in steede of the Apostles doctrine, although they alledge and bring in for themselues, a thousande continuall successors, are not to be hearde as pastors, but to be shunned as wolues: according to the expresse commaundement of Christ Iesus and of his Apostles.

Obiection.

But some man will obiect and say: is it lawfull then for euerye man to preache the woorde and to minister the Sacramentes? No truely, it ought not so to bee.

1.Cor.14.

For al things muste be done in the Churche of God (as the Apostle sauth) in order?

Who are then true Pastors? surely suche as are lawfully called.

Vocation in the Churche, ordinarie, and extraordinary.

It resteth therefore now to consider what is lawfull calling, that this speciall matter also may be vnderstoode. We say that there is one forme and maner of ordinary calling, and another of extraordinarie calling. That is ordinarie calling, in the which, the order appointed of GOD in the Church, is obserued. In this order the first thing is, The examinination of doctrine and maners: the seconde, lawfull election: and the laste, impositiõ of handes. These three things may be gathered & approued by diuers testimonies of Scriptures: as by the election of Mathias, and of the seuen Deacons in the Actes of ỹ Apostles: and also by those things which Paule writeth in his Epistles to Timothie, & to Titus. This is the description of ordinarie calling. Wher-

1
2
3

Act.1.
Act 6.
1.Timo.3.
Titus.1.

by

by it maye be gathered, that the same is an extraordinarie calling, in the which, although it be lawful by Gods authoritie, either one of these two things, or both, or else all, are wanting. The which kinde of callings God hath oftētimes vsed as in the Scriptures appeareth. For who layd hands on Moyses to dedicate Aaron: Who annointed the Prophetes, Esayas, Daniel, Amos, and many others? Therfore when they which had authoritie, abused the power of ordinarie calling, then I saye, it was necessarie that the Lorde should vse extraordinarie meanes, not to bring in confusion, but to reforme those which had peruerted and depraued al things in the Church, vnder the colour and pretence of ordinarie succession. And that the matter standeth thus, the writings of the Prophetes which specially inueye against the Priestes, do manifestly declare. Exod. 28. Esay. 6. 9. Dom. 1. 17. Amos. 7. 14.

If any man obiecte and say, that they had extraordinarie testimonies of their calling confirmed with certaine miracles, we answere, That this is so far true in some, that in other some, it is starke false: except we should speake of those things of the which there is no testimonie. And truely I cannot tell whether there be many Prophetes to be found of the progenie of Aaron, vpon whome hands were laide after an ordinarie maner. If in like maner it be alledged that they contented themselues with the office of repreheding and reprouing, and exercised not the office of sacrificing: we answere, first of all, that this is not founde euery where to be true. For Samuel which was not of the familie of Aaron, but of Chore sacrificed in *Maspa*. And Elias in *Carmel*. Secondly we answere, that it ought not to seeme straunge that the prophetes at that time extended not that extraordinarie office, to the doing and fulfilling of ceremonies, seing that the same office did appertaine by inheritaunce to the kindred and stocke of Leui, which at this day is out of vse. Thus far therefore concerning these speciall pointes, what is the Church: what are the markes of the same: what is Esay. 28. Iere. 7. Ezechiel. 22. Soph. 3. 1. Samuel. 7. 1. King. 18.

the vocation of Pastors, we haue spoken oure iudgement. The which things if ye meane to call in question & to serche and trie whether they be in oure Churches, or in oure persons, we trust, by the helpe of God, to bring suche certaine reasons, that no mã can doubt that we haue ỹ true Church, and that our calling is lawfull.

Authoritie of the Church.

Now let vs come to the third principall point, which concerneth the authoritie of the Church. It is manifest by those things wherof we haue spoken already that we do derogate nor take away none of those precious & magnificẽt notes wᵗ the which the Church is beautified. But we say, that it is ỹ body of the Lord, ỹ as yet it is a pilgrime in this world, looking for ỹ fulnesse of the head ỹ is, Christ. This is the house of the Lord, which is dayly builded & erected by little & little which is gouerned by the holy Ghost, but as yet fighting against the flesh, it is purified, but so, that by little & little it may be brought to the perfectiõ of that beautie & cleannesse in the which there is neither spot nor wrinkle: it knoweth God, but in part. To be shorte, we confesse, that out of the Church, there is no saluation, seyng there is life no where elsse, thã in Christ Jesus, who exerciseth his quickning lyfe in no other than in his members, the vnion and coagmentatiõ wherof is called the Church. But in this all the whole controuersie consisteth namely, whether the Church maye erre in this world: whether it be subiect vnto the scripture, or ỹ scripture vnto it. To the which I answere that it is out of all controuersie & doubt, ỹ the particular members of the Church, may erre, & do dayly erre, both in doctrine & in maners, according to this place of the Apostle Paule, saying, We know in part. And S. Jhon sayth, If we say, we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues. If any man would go about to exempt the ancient fathers from that nũber, he shall not be offended, if we beleue not his wordes. For it were an easie matter (sauing ỹ reuerence which we owe vnto thẽ) to note many blemishes & spots, euẽ in the greatest & most ancient fathers,

Hebr 11.

1.Cor.14.

Ephe.4.

Galathians.5.

Ephe.5.

1.Cor.13.

Whether the Church may erre.

1.Cor.13.

1.Ihon.1.

fathers, but we wil not stand in repeating of them, both for the honour which they worthily deserue, & also for that the Lord Cardinall (if I wel remēber his words) thinketh not that they ought rashly and indifferently to be receiued.

This is our opnion concerning the particular mēbers of the church, whose perfectiō notwithstāding is no such cause or let, but that the Church may consist of them. For ỳ faithfull profit by litle and little both in the knowledge of God, and also in the perfection of maners.

But and if the mēbers of the Church be considered more generally, as they be distributed into dioceses, & prouinces, shal we say that they may erre? Moreouer, if I be not deceiued, my Lorde Cardinall thoughte of late that particular Churches, and prouinciall councels may erre, and haue oftentimes erred: And truely this thing is confirmed by so long experience, that I thinke not that any man in his right wittes will denie the same. It remaineth therfore that we consider the whole Church vniuersally. General counselles.

But how? For if we beholde the same in the representation of a certain general Councell, first, it is not likely that all the force and vertue which the holy Ghost hath powred out vpon the Church, is restrained to a certaine number of prelates, which are oftentimes neuer the more learned nor any whit ỳ better, although they represent all those, of whō they are sent. For how oftētimes may it come to passe that some one man altogether vnlearned, shall haue more wisedome thā all ỳ learned of ỳ whole cōpany beside? And therfore is it writtē in ỳ Glose: Thou hast declared concerning elections, that one priuate faithfull mā, which bringeth better reasons, ought rather to be beleued than the whole coūcel, & the Pope. But rather in ỳ great *Nicene* coūcell, who did let that law of chastitie, which from that time brought so manie corruptions into the Church, that it might not be established? One onely Paphnutius, not greatly learned, as the storie maketh mention.

Furthermore, at what time was there euer so generall a Councell gathered together, but that not onely the greatest part of learned men, and of godly men, but also of Prelates, was left behind? And who will denie, but that they which are absent, haue oftentimes had the more sound and better iudgement thā those that were present? Beside these things, ye also my Lordes doe know, what great confusion raigneth in the Church, and specially in the greatest offices of the Prelacie: in so much that we may say, The greatest corruption hath bene in that part, which ought to haue bēn more perfect and sounde. Of late we had many examples, and the holy Bishoppes haue set suche dēpe sighes for these things, that the sounde of them is hearde as yet. And truely the saying of S. Bernard is no lesse knowne than true, when he sayth. Oh Lord, they which loue the hyest romes and desire principallitie, are the first which persecute thee, they haue taken mount Sion, they haue taken the arke of the couenant, and by force haue set fire on the whole Citie.

Bernar. in lib. de consider. & in sermone. 33 in Cantica. & in sermo. de conuersione Pauli.

But let this be spoken, my Lordes, not that I touche or meane any of you, but onely to declare, that seyng the principall vocations in the Churche are so fowly corrupted, it cannot be, that the generall Councels after so long time established by a multitude of such wicked men, should be so gouerned by the holy Ghost that it cannot erre. A certaine ancient Priest prophecied also, although he were vngodly and wicked: but it was the holy Ghost that prophecied in him, being ignorant what he sayd, & being driuen to speake by the contrarie spirit, that is to say, by the spirit of the Deuill, in appointing to kill an innocent, namely Christ Iesus the sonne of God.

Caiphas prophecied. Ihon. 18.

Furthermore if a general Councell haue this priuiledge, that it cannot erre, neither in the rule of doctrine, nor in the forme of maners, we demaunde, when and at what time it obtained this priuiledge. For there was neuer at any time, but one faith, & one Church. And the Prophetes do plainly declare,

declare, and the hiſtories doe euidently confirme the ſame, that the ancient Church in the tyme of the olde Teſtament hath erred. All the beholders thereof are blinde, (ſayth the Prophet) they knowe nothing, they are dumbe dogges. And the Prophet Ieremie ſayth, From the Prophet to the Prieſt all haue gone aſtray. And leaſt this ſhould be reſtrained to the life of ſingular men, it is expreſſely ſayde in the fourtene chapter of the ſame Prophet: They prophecie lyes, and ſet forthe a falſe viſion. Alſo the Prophet Eſay ſayth: The wiſedome of the wyſe ſhall periſhe, and the intelligence of thoſe that vnderſtand: God ſhall put out the eyes of the prophetes. Moreouer in Ezechiel it is ſayde, The lawe ſhall departe from the Prieſt. But who ſlewe the Prophetes, who put the ſonne of God to death, who cõdemned the Apoſtles but onely the Prelates and hie Prieſtes of the Iewes. Eſay. 56. Ieremie. 6. Ieremie. 14. Eſay. Ezechiel. 7.

If any man obiect and ſay, that theſe things happened in the time of the olde Teſtamente, we reply that this is no anſwere, for bicauſe it ſhal be alwayes a ſtrong concluſion, that the congregation of the Prelates or Papiſtes of the Church although it be vniuerſal at the laſt, is gouerned rather by the ſpirite of error than by the holye Ghoſte. Secondly if we come to the newe Teſtament, hath not the Apoſtle Paule plainely admoniſhed the Churche in the perſon of the Epheſians, that wolues ſhall come forthe from among the ſhepeherdes: and alſo that the ſonne of perdition ſhall ſit in the Temple of God: And certainely yf the councels be compared one with another, manye contrarieties ſhall be found in them, in ſo much that we muſt nédes confeſſe that they were not alwayes led and ruled by the holy Ghoſt, but rather that Sathan hath tranſfigured himſelfe into the lighte of the generall Councels, to couer and hide his lye and error. There is alſo another place of S. Auguſtine, in the which he hath theſe wordes: The Epiſtles of particular Biſhoppes, are corrected by prouinciall Councels, and the Epiſtles of prouinciall Councels, by generall Councelles, Actes. 20. 2. Theſ. 4. Auſt. lib. 2. de bap. cõtra Donat. cap. 31.

when as, by experience that which was before hidden, is now manifest, and knowne.

This place I alledged before in my firste oration, to the which my lord Cardinal made answere, that it ought to be vnderstode of externall matters, which might & ought to be altered as necessitie shuld require. But ỳ whole matter being more diligently considered, it shal appeare ỳ the worde (corrected) which Austine vseth, doth presuppose some error, which was afterward amended. And S. Austine in that place dothe not intreate of externall discipline, but of one speciall point of doctrine, namely of the sentence of Ciprian, and of the councell of *Africa*, which concerned Rebaptizing.

If also this place be obiected against vs, as where our saviour Christ saith, that He will be in the middest of two or three that are gathered togither in his name, hereby to proue that this promise doth appertaine rather to a general councell than to a fewe men: We answere, that we may thus thinke of this promise, but there is great difference betwen our imagination, & a most certaine knowledge. For seyng the wickednesse of men is growne to that passe ỳ they abuseth the name of God to a lie, there may be some which hauing the name of God in their mouth, carry his aduersarie the Deuill in their heartes, & we do affirme that in so great infirmitie of humane wit, & amidst so many troublesome bures, he is in gret daũger to be deceiued, which only leaneth to mẽs iudgements, and to the external shew of a councell.

What thẽ: shal we say ỳ the doctrine of the Church, seing the Church may erre is vncertaine? Nothing lesse. For we confesse, ỳ although we see in part (as S. Paule saith) and so erro3 may be ioyned with ỳ truth, yet notwithstãding God wil not suffer the knowledge of ỳ principal groũdes of our saluatiõ to be buried & forgottẽ, but there shall be alwayes one or other of his seruaunts, which shal know that which ought to be knowẽ, & shal follow that which ought to be followed: as we see it happened to Helias, in time of the captiuitie

nitie of *Babilon*, & in Israell in the time of Christ his cõming, when as there was scarsly left one Zacharias, one Elizabeth one Ioseph, one Virgin Mary, one Anna, the Prophetesse, which among so many corruptiõs of ỹ Scribes, Phariseis, & Saduceis, had the true vnderstanding of the Prophecies concerning the cõming of Christ. These interruptiõs therfore & lets which fall into the Church of God, are as it were a certaine tempest & cloude, which God driueth away by the cõming of his Sonne, that is to say, of his word, according to the dispensing of the secretes of his iudgementes & mercies. May we not condemne general councels? God forbid. For ye know that if we shall go about to reforme or amẽd any thing by them, ye shall chaunge and alter manye more things thã we: in the which not long ago ye trauelled. Notwithstanding we require this thing at your hande, that the worde of God may be as a touchstone, that whatsoeuer is eyther spoken or done in the Churche maye be tried by the same. If this thing seeme straũge vnto you, I pray you my Lordes consider that noble place of Augustine, where he writeth to Maximinus Arrianus, being in the seconde booke, and fourth chapter, saying. Aust. lib. 2. ca. 4. ad Arrianũ.

Is there a more approued Councell, than the firste Nicene Councel? None I beleue. What was the councel of Ariminũ? It was reiected, & condemned and that iustly. But whereof doth S. Augustine intreate in that place? Surely, of one of the principal articles of our faith, so oftentimes concluded & cõfirmed, namely of Consubstantiatiõ of the Sõne of God. Neuertheless S. Austine confesseth that he wil neither be tried by the coũcel of Nice, nor by the coũcel of Ariminũ but by the scriptures, which he calleth indifferent witnesses for both partes. But if here we will obiecte & say that the scriptures are harde and obscure, we must confesse with Saint Paule, that the carnall man doth not vnderstande ỹ things that are of God, and with the Apostle Peter, that the scriptures haue not a priuate explication. 1. Cor. 2. 2. Peter. 1.

And

And if the obscurenesse of the Scriptures be such that they cannot manifest themselues vnto vs, why doth not Christe sende vs to some other thing rather than to them, when he
Ihon.5. saith, Search the Scriptures. Furthermore, what did they, which vsed onely the writings of the Apostles before there were any commentaries of the Doctors?

I remember, my Lorde Cardinall, that ye saide, that the firme and vndoubted interpretation, which was alwayes in the Church, euery where, and of all men receiued, oughte to be imbraced. But who will certifie vs of those three principall pointes? Furthermore if we come to these wordes, Alwayes, and Of all men, at what time shall we begin, but onely at the Apostolicall Churche? And who shall be counted the first, but the Apostles thēselues, whose storie Luke hath so faithfully described, and are also to be sēne by their writings. Therefore bicause all truth dependeth vpon God, which hath made the Prophetes, and Apostles to be interpreters of our saluation, we alwayes come to this foundation of Scriptures.

And yet neuertheless we reiect not the iudgementes of Councels and of the Fathers, so that they agrée with the Scriptures: the which, as S. Austine saythe, are so tempered and placed by the holy Ghost, that the same which in one place is spokē obscurely, in another place is more plainly vttered.

Notwithstanding here remayne certaine doubtes to be opened, and expounded. For there are many which thinke, that the will of God, as touching our saluation, is not fully contained in the writings of the Apostles. But I pray you consider with your selues, if this be graunted, what a way is made to all errors? And truely, by this way, Sathan hath greatly broken into the Lordes vineyarde. Neuertheless we doe not denie, that God before Moyses time, ordered and taught his Church by visions and reuelations, and that the Apostles builded the Churches with their owne voyce, before

fore they had written any thing.

But why would God, the number and wickednesse of men increasing, haue this doctrine to be described, which was preached and knowne to all men? for this cause truly that he might preuent their subtill crafftes, which colour all their doings, with the names of tradition, of reuelation, and of custome. But if this doctrine be onely written in part, what shall this remedie profite? Ihon truely speaketh not thus of the Scriptures, whē he sayth, These things are written that ye might beleeue, that Iesus is Christ, the Sonne of God, and that in beleeuing, ye might haue life: the which no doubt should be false, if there were any other doctrine necessarie to saluation. In like manner the Apostle Paule, expounding the vse of doctrine, and in the person of Timothie, instructing all the ministers of the Churche, had not sayd, that The Scriptures make the man of God, that is to say, the minister, and euery faithfull man) perfecte, and fully giuen to all good woorkes: if any thing oughte to be ioyned to the same. Notwithstanding we doubte not, but that there haue bene alwayes from time to time vnwritten traditions, as touching the order and maner of doing. But bycause manye of late dayes do abuse this worde (Traditions) we will shewe what Traditions oughte to be receyued. The which shall be easily done if these two things be considered: namely, if the doctrines be conformable, and fyt to edification. For this is alwayes firme and certaine, that the Apostles and true shepeherdes, neuer appointed rites, either directly or indirectly contrary to holesome doctrine: or other things which might in any point or iot draw men from the spirituall worship of God. Therefore when this rule shall be obserued and kept, it will be an easie matter to discerne true doctrine from traditions, and true traditions from those that are false. You also may remember how greatly Tertullian, in his tractation of the Scriptures, condemneth those which sayd that the Apostles left some-

Ihon. 20.

2. Timo. 3.

what obscure & not sufficiently expounded, which appertained to our saluatiō. I will say more, namely that the same which the Apostles haue done here is not perpetual: not as though they were not by al exception the greater witnesses but because they did beare somewhat with the infirmitie of the Iewes by the rule of charitie: as in willing them to abstaine frō things offered to Idols, & from strangled: and in
Act. 15 16. 18 that also which Paule did in Timothe & in himself, ẏ which things at this day ought to haue no place, but onely by a generall rule of indifferent things, which of themselues are neither good nor euill, in which things we ought to applye our selues to the infirmitie of our brethren.

Things indifferent.

These things also may be gathered of the rytes which agreed with their times, as the maner of kissing one another in going bareheaded in signe of authoritie, which is cōtrary to the common custome of many people.

All these things therfore ought to be considered, before a custome be established as apostolicall: least the Apostolicall authoritie and custome be abused to the disturbing of the churches, as it came to passe after the Apostles tyme, for the feast of Easter, and in the Apostles time for the au-
Acts. 15. thoritie of the Church of *Hierusalem*, as appeareth by Luke. Now then shall we thinke that the Apostles founde oute so many ceremonies, in which afterwards was placed remission of sinnes, when as plainely they haue testified the contrarie. Augustine complained of these things long ago: and there is no doubte, but that if he had bene in these our dayes he shoulde haue had greater occatione to complaine. To be short therfore, we wilhe that the Scripture which is very plaine in these matters, maie Iudge betwene traditions that are good and euil betwēn holy and prophane, betwene profitable and hurtful, and betwene such as are necessary, and those that are superfluous.

The which being graunted, this question may easily be resolued, namely, Whether the Church be aboue the scripture:

ture: The which question seemeth so absurde vnto me as if a mã should demaund, whether the father were inferior to the sonne, or whether the wife were aboue the husband, or mã aboue God.

And truly the true Church neuer complaineth and murmureth against God in this matter, but alwaies modestly submitteth it self vnto him. Neither maketh it any matter that the Church was before the Scriptures.

For that word which was afterwardes written, is more ancient thã the Church, seing of the same, the Church was conceiued, begotten, & brought forth, & hath also of the same his denominatiõ. And to disproue this the saying of S. Austine is brought against vs, when he saith: I would not beleue the scripture, were it not that the authoritie of the church did force me thervnto. But we must consider ý S. Austine speaketh here in the person of Manichæus. For whẽ two mẽ do contend about the truth of some instrument, to whom in the end shal they go but to the Scriuener or Notary, ý hath the first draught or coũterpane of the same: Notwithstanding it doth not herepõ folow ý the authoritie of ý instrument doth depend vpõ the person of the Notary, the which should be no lesse firme and strong, although the Notarie being aliue, would refuse to giue testimonie of the same. The same answere muste be made to those, whiche thinke the authoritie of the Canonicall bookes of scripture to depende vpon the determination of the Church. The worde of God more ancient than the Church. Canonicall Bookes.

But I will content my selfe to adde vnto that, wherof I haue spoken before, one only argument, confirmed by the authoritie of certaine approued Fathers.

The argument is this, Christe him selfe did so muche estéeme of the doctrine of the Prophet, that he sought to confirme hys doctrine by their testimonies. After the same maner the Apostle Paule went about to confirme the Thessalonians in his doctrine. Peter also the Apostle commendeth vnto vs and alloweth this order of teaching. Actes. 17.

Therefore it is not meete that they which call them selues Christ his vicars, and the successors of Paule & Peter shuld refuse the same condition. Furthermore, thus sayth Saint Hierō, The error either of the fathers or of the elders, ought not to be followed, but the authoritie of Scriptures. And Chrisostome sayth, He which will knowe which is the true Church of Christ, Howe shall he knowe the same in so great confusion of likenesse but by the Scriptures? Also in ỳ same place he sayth, Let them whiche are in Iudea flee into the mountaines: that is to say, They which are in Christianisme let thē busie themselues in thē Scriptures. But why would he haue all Christians at that time be occupied in the scriptures? Bycause so soone as heresie hadde entered into the Churches, there coulde not be had a true probation of Christianisme: neither can they which would knowe the truth of faith, finde any other refuge than the holy scripture.

2. Peter. 1. Cap. 6 lib. 2. in Hiere.

Hom. 49. in Math. 24.

Whosoeuer therefore would know the true Church of Christ, how shuld he know the same but by the Scriptures? In like maner the Lorde knowing that there should come so great confusion in the latter dayes, commaundeth Christians which will haue the assurance of true faith, to haue no other refuge than the holy Scripture: otherwise if that they seeke for other meanes, they shall be offended, and perishe, not vnderstanding what is the true Church and so shal fall headlong into the abhomination of desolation, which is placed in the holye place of the Churche. Also Basill sayth, If whatsoeuer be not of faith be sinne, as sayth the Apostle: and faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, then whatsoeuer is beside that worde giuen by diuine inspiration is sinne. Also in the sermon of the confession of Faith, he sayth, If God be faithfull in all his woordes, and if all his commaundementes be firme and certaine for euer, framed in truth and righteousnesse, it is a forsaking of the faithe, and a poynt of arrogancie to reiect any part of those things which are written, or to bring in any thing not written.

Basill in noua summa Mora. cap. 22.

Thus

Thus far (O Quéene) we haue answered copiously, according to our knowledge to the first principall point of the Oration made by the Prelates, concerning the authoritie of the Churche, being readie patiently, and quietly to heare, whatsoeuer shall be shewed contrary to that which we haue spoken. There remaineth yet to be spoken of the Article of our Lords Supper, the which if it seeme good vnto your Maiestie, I will nowe pretermit: both for that I haue holde you and the whole companie ouer long, and also because we desire to haue this conference hereafter framed in better order. Notwithstading if it shal seeme good vnto your Maiestie that wee proceede anye farther, we are readie to vtter those things which the Lorde shall put in oure heartes: alwayes submitting our selues vnto those things, which shall be obiected vnto vs oute of the Scriptures, moste humblye praying and beseeching your Maiestie (O Quéene) to be fully perswaded in this one thing, that nexte vnto the glorye of oure God, wee wishe and desire nothing more vehementlye, than the dignitie of your Maiestie, and the peace & tranquillitie of the Realme.

After that *Beza* had thus ended his oration, then the Cardinall, beckning to Claudius Espensius, a Sorboniſt, willed him to make his oration. The Espensius beginning to shew, that not long agoe he had wished to haue this mutuall conference: and that he alwayes vtterly abhorred those cruell punishmentes, which were vniustlye vsed againste those which imbraced the Religiō: he sayd that those things which were alreadie spoken of the Church, and of the markes, and succession of the same, were in his iudgemente, verye true, adding hereunto, that if this way had bēn taken in hande at the first, all controuersies had bēn by this time ended. But as touching that principall poynte of the Succession of the Churche, I haue (sayth he) oftentimes marueiled with my selfe, by whose authorite, and by whose calling ye are entered into the Church, and haue taken vpon you the office of

Espensius the Sorbonist.

teaching, seing that ye are not come in by the ordinary way, nor by such as haue ordinarie authoritie, nor haue not receiued of thē the impositiō of hands. Herevpō he gathered that the ministers of the reformed churches, were not true & lawful pastors, forsomuch as they could not say that they were come in by ordinarie successiō, much lesse by extraordinarie, bicause extraordinarie vocatiō ought to be cōfirmed by miracles, euē as Moises being raised vp of God to deliuer ỳ people, was established by extraordinarie miracles, or else truly those extraordinarie callings, ought to be cōfirmed by some expresse testimonie of scripture, as the calling of Ihon by the testimonie of Malachy. Both the which seing they lacked, he cōcluded that their calling & ministery was not lawful. As concerning traditions, & the interpretatiō of scripture, if ther shal happē to be any disputatiō about thē, thē we must run & haue regard to ordinarie successors, as to those to whom the holy Ghost is promised, who were ordained to ỳ end & purpose, as it is manifest by ỳ example of the Leuites ẅ whom in time past mē ought to consult, & from whose iudgement it was not lawful to decline. Many things, yea euē those that are most certaine & farthest from all doubt, are retained by traditiō: As ỳ the father is not begottē: that ỳ sonne is of like substance ẅ the father, that infantes ought to be baptized, ỳ the virgin Mary was a pure virgin after the birth of Christ, & so remained, & such like, the which being receiued from the fathers, although they be not plainly writtē in the word of God, ỳ is to say, in the bookes of the prophets & Apostles, yet notwithstanding they are not of lesse credit and authoritie. Moreouer he said, ỳ whatsoeuer was cōcluded & determined by generall cōcels, were & ought to be accounted most certaine & true, seing ỳ councels could not erre in those things that appertained to doctrin. For ỳ, which (saith he) you haue alleged out of S. Austin, that one cōcell was corrected & reproued by another cōcell following, neuer came to passe in those things which appertained to Religiō. For there were only

Succession ordinarie and extraordinary.

Traditions of the Fathers.

only thꝛée councels in the time of S. Augustine, namely the coũcell of *Nicene*, against the Arriãs, the coũcell of *Constantinople* against the Macedoniãs, & the *Ephesine* councel specially against Nestorius, none of the which were afterward repꝛoued & amẽded. That which you bꝛought in cõcerning Paphnutius, it is neither certainly true, nor yet doth it appertaine to the purpose. Herebyõ he repeated that which was spoken cõcerning the Supper, disputing a little about the coꝛpoꝛall pꝛesence, & he alledged many things out of the bookes of a certaine authoꝛ, which (as he saide) the ministers could not refuse, meaning Caluine one of whose bookes he bꝛought foꝛth. It was said ỹ Espensius at the cõmandemẽt of the Cardinal of *Loraine*, of purpose begã to reason concerning the Supper, to the intent he might finde conuenient occasion to bꝛeake off the conference. Thre councels in S. Augustime.

While *Beza* was about to make answer to ỹ which Espẽsius had said, a certain *Sorbonist*, a white monke, whose name was Xainctius, being fully bent to dispute, rose vp, making a long & tedious repetitiõ of those things which were spokẽ by Espensius before: & said that traditions had a moꝛe firme foundatiõ than the scripture it self, bicause ỹ scripture might be drawen euerye waye by the varietie of interpꝛetations: foꝛ the which cause he saide, that Cyprian contended with many *Affricans*, affyꝛming that Christ said not, I am custome, but, I am the way, the truth, & the life. The which sentence frõ that time foꝛward, was many wayes wꝛested & trãsfoꝛmed. To the same effect he cited the testimonie of Tertulliã, in his booke of pꝛescriptions of heretikes, & said that *Beza* had spoken very statelye, sending him to the same place of Tertullian, to reade it moꝛe diligently: Who saythe (Quoth the Monke) that, Heretikes bring in the scriptures, and do leade the ignorant into error, beyng moued by the authoritie ther of. And thus he concluded that the Scriptures ought not to be vsed, and that from them simply we ought not to take weapons to conuince heretikes, foꝛ bicause of thynges Traditions coũted of a Monk of greater force than the scriptures. Tertullian.

so

so vncertaine, the certaine victory of truth cannot be gotten. At the last he obscurely sayde, that God beside his Councell, had giuen vnto vs his doctrine in writing, & saide that Chrisostome was the author of this saying.

Here *Beza* made answere that those long & tedious words of the Monke were very impertinent to their conference, and nothing helping to that peace and concorde which they wished: and directing his oration to the Quéene, he did beseech hir to prouide that they might neuer afterward swarue & fall into perturbations & troubles not seruing to the purpose. Therefore (sayth he) that I may answere to the firste doubt of Espensius, from whence the Ministers of our Churches, had their calling, seing they were not called by ordinarie meanes, neither had receiued the imposition of handes: know ye, that Imposition or laying on of handes, is not the speciall note of lawfull calling: for the principall and substantiall notes are, the Inquisition of maners and doctrine, and Election: from the which two, if imposition of handes shall be wanting, yet we muste not thinke the calling to be any whyt the lesse lawfull. We are elected Ministers, and approued of our Churches, which with one consent haue allowed our Ministerie. But wheras we haue not had imposition of handes, nor appointed by those whome ye call Ordinaries, that ought not to seeme straunge, seing that in so greate confusion of all things in the Churche of *Rome*, wee would not receiue imposition of hands of those, whose vices superstition, and false doctrine we disalowe: for that they were open enimyes to the truth. It is out of all doubte, that the Prophetes in olde time had no greater aduersaries than the Priestes, whiche reiected sounde doctrine, and neglected their office and duetie. Did the Prophetes therefore at any time, which were raised vp of God to be enimies vnto them desire the confirmation, or approbation of their offices vnto the which they were called, and appointed of God? And yet notwithstanding who will say that they did intrude themselues

Imposition of handes.

Signes of lawfull calling.

The confirmation of the ministerie.

selues into those offices, which they executed and discharged faithfully with great perill and daunger of their life? The which also we ought to do at this time. And it ought not to be said that Myracles are necessarily to be required to extraordinarie callings: for that which is written concerning the calling of Moyses, is not common to all.

For by what Myracles were the callings of Esayas, Daniel, and Zacharias confirmed? Did the Apostle Paule loke for imposition of handes of the Phariseys, that he might execute that office which God had committed vnto him? And when he woulde confirme his Apostleship, he speaketh not onely of the Myracles whiche he had done, but also of the fruites of his preaching: The which also we may say, of so many kingdomes and prouinces, which haue receiued the Gospell by our preaching, notwithstanding so many lettes and impedimentes to hinder the same: and we thinke that therecannot be required of vs a more firme confirmation of oure Ministerie, seyng the vertue and power of God is manifest in vs, the which neither bondes, neither imprisonment, neither fire, neither banishments, nor death could let. Miracles.

Albeit, sayth Espensius, bring ye me one onely example done a thousand fiue hundred yeare agone like vnto yours. All things, sayth Beza that haue happened, are not put down in histories: but howsoeuer the matter be, it doth not folow that this our example is not manifest inough, and set forth of God in his due time: who went not about to giue a new Gospell, but ment to renewe that olde Gospell, which was exquisitly written by the Apostles, and sufficiently confirmed by Miracles. And so by a certain vnwonted and singular meane or way, he caused that bright light to shine. But concerning Traditions, what folishe madnesse is it to make them either equall with the Scripture, or else more certaine than the same, bicause of the diuersitie of interpretations? For what shall be the staye and foundation of oure faith if The Gospell.

we ſtande in vncertaine opinions? But what ſo euer men do, this notwithſtanding is moſt certainely to be imbraced,

Truth will be truth ſtill.

That truth ſhall be moſt firme and conſtant, although for a time it ſeme neuer ſo obſcure: and although heretikes do abuſe it, yet neuertheleſſe ought we alwayes to leane to the ſame. Alſo, touching the place of Tertullian, which Xanctus willeth me ſo diligentlye to conſider, I haue ſo certainely conſidered the ſame, as I am ſure he hath falſely cited Chriſoſtome, in whom that ſhal neuer be founde, which he hath falſely fayned.

The place taken out of Tertullian explained.

We will not denie but that Tertullian was deceyued in certayne places: and yet notwithſtanding the place cited, beyng rightly vnderſtode, and the ende thereof conſidered, it ſhall be verie eaſie to be expounded. For it was his purpoſe to declare, that we muſte not diſpute in vayne againſt heretikes: but as the Apoſtle Paule ſayth, they beyng once or twice reprehended muſt be reiected. But shewe vnto vs,

Titus. 3.

with what Heretikes he had to doe: ſurely euen with thoſe whiche being conuicted by the worde of God, obſtinately thruſt in certaine teſtimonyes of ſcripture, tranſformed to maintaine their errors.

Againſt theſe men Tertullian bringeth in the traditions of the Churche, the whiche he ſheweth ought to be of greater waight than the new deuiſes of many men. Firſt of al therfore it is méete that we ſhould be conuinced by the worde of God, that we may be brought from error. For if we ſhould ſimply leane vnto traditions, which are neither Apoſtolical, nor agréeing to their doctrine, we ſhould ſet open a way to a thouſand deceites, and at length peruert and ouerthrow the certaintie of the Scripture. And why dothe Tertullian caſt the heretikes in the téeth, ſaying that They, contrary to Scripture, doe beleeue without Scripture, but onely to teache them that they muſt leane and cleaue to the certaine truth of the Scriptures, and by them conuince errors? But if the traditions and ceremonies, which are at this daye obiected

vnto

vnto vs of our aduersaries, were Apostolicall and alwayes vsed of the Churche, we might otherwise thinke and determine: but seyng we can shew their beginnings, it followeth that they are not come from the Apostles. And truely Tertullian dothe greatly reprehende them which thought that all things, whiche appertained to saluation, were not put downe to vs by the Apostles. Therfore, when truth comes in question we must haue recourse to the Apostles, whom Christe hath sent to teache the Churche. But how shall we agree of the Apostles doctrine, but by their writings? For therefore were they called of God to that office, that they might plainely teache and instruct vs in all things that appertained to our saluation.

After the same maner also the place of Chrisostome may be explaned in the which we haue these wordes, Christ lefte nothing to the Apostle in writing: did he therefore forbyd them to leaue anye thing in writing? No truely. But he dyd rather illuminate them by his holy spirit, to the ende his doctrine being put in writing, mighte abide for euer. Howbeit, the Apostles taughte certayne things, which they haue not written. We denie it not. But we say that those things whiche they haue not written, doe not appertaine to oure saluation. For those things whiche mighte appertayne to certaine rytes profitable for that time, and to the order and gouernement of the Churche, they haue shewed and declared by worde of mouthe. But bycause those things are of suche condition that they maye be diuersely altered accordyng to the circumstaunces of the place, tyme, and persons, therefore they neither oughte nor can bynde the consciences of men. The place of Chrisostome expounded.

And as concerning these wordes: Not begotten, Consubstantiall, Trinitie, and suche like, although they be not to be founde so expressely in the Scripture: yet notwythstanding their sense, effect and meaning is plentifully to be founde therein.

Whereupon afterwards to auoyde the subtil slightes of heretikes, these and such like wordes were founde out and receiued of the ancient fathers. Thus *Beza* answered to those obiections: that while Ponke Xantius in the meane time cryed out against him, interrupting him, and still inculcating this thing, that neither the virginitie of the virgin Marie, nor the baptizing of infantes, coulde be proued by testimonies of Scripture. And thus crying and exclaming still, after the manner of scholes, he was verie troublesome to the whole assembly. At the last, after this confused disputation to and fro, the Cardinall of *Loraine* perceiuing the inciuilitie of his fellowes (as it may seeme) least they should be reprehended of the Quéene, he himselfe ended this controuersie, as though the question had ben sufficiently handled. Upon which silence the Sorbonistes afterwards perswaded them selues to haue gotten the victorie.

Cardinall of Lorain moderator of the controuersie.

Then the Cardinall began to speake concerning the Lordes Supper, protesting in the name of al the Prelates, that they woulde procéede no further, vntill that question were fully determined and answered: both for that it was the principall pointe of all controuersies, and also because the Ministers hadde so playnely declared their opinion and iudgement concerning the same in that their first Oratiõ, that the rumoure thereof is gone throughout the whole Realme. Therefore he demaunded of the Ministers whether they woulde receiue and imbrace the Augustane Confession: And the Ministers on the contrarie part demaunded if they also would receiue the same.

Augustane confession.

The Cardinal faring as though he woulde answere to this demaunde, began to bring forthe the iudgement of certaine Ministers of Germanie, concerning the Lords Supper: the which he (he sayde) was sent by them, to him out of Germanie. But herein he played the craftie Fore, to the ende that if they had openly denyed this thing, he might haue set them and the Ministers of Germanie togither by the

the eares: but if they had imbraced the same, that then hee might tryumphe ouer them as if they had gotten the victory.

Beza to auoid this Dilemma, and subtill traine, answered, That he and his fellowes came thyther to defende the confession of their owne Churches, whiche they were, onelye by them, inioyned to doe. So that he desired that the order of the disputation might be framed vpon the forme of their confession: to the end that they might gather thereby bothe the greater fruit, and also come into a more perfect concord. For the order of nature doth require that firste of all those thinges which are more easie shoulde be handled: and we must first of all dispute of doctrine, bycause the Sacramentes doe depende of Doctrine. Notwithstanding the Cardinall did with no lesse vehemencie still vrge the matter. Therefore the chosen men of the Churches, fearing least by this meanes occasion might be taken to breake off the conference, and that the blame thereof shoulde be layde vpon them, they desired to haue leaue to vewe and consider that writting, whereto the Prelates wente about to make them to subscribe, and so they woulde deliberate together what they were best to doe.

Then was broughte forthe a fourme of the article concerning the Lords Supper, written (as the Cardinall said) oute of the Augustane confession, thus. VVe doe Confesse that the very body and bloud of Christ Iesus, is truely really, and Sacramentally in the Supper of the Lorde, and is so giuen and receiued of those that doe communicate. There were also broughte forthe manye opinions of the Saxone Ministers concerning this matter, written in the yeare of oure Lorde, 1559. And thus was the assembly dismist vntill another day.

In the meane time newes was broughte, that the writing exhibited by the Cardinall of *Loraine*, was by the industrie of one Frances Balduine, sente with letters, whiche

The subtill sleighes of one Balduine.

ſignifyed that he woulde come verie ſhortly and bring certaine miniſters with him out of *Germanie*, which ſhoulde diſpute and contend with *Beza*, and with the reſt of the challengers of the reformed Churches. Balduine therfore came to *Pooſſiac* in the time of the conference, leauing notwithſtanding behynde him thoſe miniſters of *Germanie*, making the more haſte, to the intent he might offer vp a certayne Latine booke, intituled, The office of a godly man, among the controuerſies of Religion: perſwading himſelfe by this meanes, that he ſhoulde pleaſe all men, ſpecially the Biſhoppes.

And this Booke he highlye commended and bragged of, as a certaine ſingular meane and waye to worke peace and vnitie: the author of the which booke, the miſerable ambitious man partlye affyrming, and partlye denying himſelfe to be, by vayne diſſimulation, the name of Caſſander, beyng ſuppreſſed and quite taken awaye, whiche had patched the ſame together, would that all men ſhould haue counted him to bee the authour thereof: perſwading himſelfe hereby to wyn greate fame. But his expectation for all this was deceyued, for he was called of neyther part into the conference, for that all men feared his inconſtancie and lighte raſhenelle, whiche he had all his lyfe time ſhewed by manyfeſt proofe and ſhewe of his ſubtill and falſe minde.

But his hatred for this matter was wholly kindled againſt the Miniſters of the reformed Churches, whom he thought to be the cauſe that he was not called to the conference.

Afterwardes he inueyed againſte *Caluine* and *Beza*, who by theyr aunſwere agayne declared by euident argumentes, that he was guiltie of a lye, of falſehode, and of impietie. That is to ſaye, Balduine not long agoe fayned to loue the Goſpell, and declared the ſame alſo by ſetting forthe of bookes, and was conuerſaunt in the reformed Churches, where-

Balduines inconſtancie.

whereby among good men he had gotten a good reporte: notwithstanding chaunging oftentymes his Religion, one while he seemed to imbrace the doctrine of the Gospell, going to those places in the whiche the same was publiquely preached: another whyle he wente to the Papistes, seeming to lyke of their seruice, whereby at the last all men iustly Iudged hym to bee of a wycked and vnconstant mind. Therefore after he hadde experience and proofe of diuers Religions, shyfting oftentymes from one to another, the subtill fellowe thought that he had at the last founde oute a certayne vndoubted fourme of Religion, and reported abroade that he knewe a sure meane or waye to appease all controuersies for Religion.

And beyng brought vnto the King of *Nauarre*, by the practise of the Cardinall of *Lorayne*, hee made hym to haue a wonderfull opinion of him.

And whilest the King of *Nauarre* was greatly disturbed with the fayre promyses of the Pope, (of the whiche wee wyll speake anon) thys fellowe dayly called vpon him, who also bringing forthe argumentes, oute of certayne auncient notes and abbreuiations, whiche he sayde, hee hadde founde by chaunce, he put the King of *Nauarre* in suche hope to get the Kingdome of *Nauarre*, that his loue and zeale towardes the Gospell waxing colde by little and lyttle, at the laste he vtterlye renounced and forsoke the Gospell, to the greate detrimente and hurte of the reformed Churches, and of the whole Realme of *Fraunce*, in furtherynge whereof before tyme, he had notwithstanding beene verye diligent. King of Nauar an Apostata.

Balduine for bringing these things to passe, receiued for his reward, a great summe of money, and had also committed vnto him the charge to bryng vp the kyng of *Nauarres*, bastard, for which he receiued a stipend.

But nowe againe they come to the Conference, so that, when

when they were all assembled togyther, and leaue giuen to the Ministers to speake, *Beza* pronounced this Oration before the Quéene.

We declared of late before your Maiestie, (noble Quéene) according to our skil, our opinion concerning the Article propounded vnto vs of the Church, and of the markes and authoritie of the same: in opening of the which things we haue so followed the worde of God, that we trust no man hath had iust occasion to complaine of vs. But for so muche as those things which haue bene opened by vs, ought either to be approued, or else to be reprehended by the worde of God, it was euen nowe demaunded of vs by what authoritie we would preach the worde of God, and minister the holy Sacramentes: in the which demaunde, to make our cause to be hated there was lefte nothing vndone. We knowe not to what end these things haue bene propoũded. For first of all, we came not hyther, eyther to preach the worde, or to minister the Sacraments. So that it seemeth superfluous to demaund of vs by what authoritie we would doe this thing. If answere be made vnto vs, that this was therfore demaũded that we might giue account of those thinges whiche we haue done afore time, it was to be cõsidered that this assembly doth consist of two sorts of men. For some are Ministers of other Countreys, in such places, in whiche their calling is approued. Of these men ye haue nothing to do to take an account of their offices. Other some there are here whiche preach the worde of God in this Realme: but ye haue not called these men before you, to constraine them to make an account of their calling, but to conferre with them concerning doctrine: otherwise they might seeme after this manner to be brought to iudgement: the which we thinke (O Quéene) not to be your will or meaning. But if ye did it for disputatiõs sake, by your leaue, I must say, that it was not meete to moue any such talke openly: to answere the which we had no good occasion offered vs, excepte we woulde offende the

myndes

mindes of the Prelates: the which to doe we would be verie loth, least we might seme to be the cause that the conference should be broken off.

And least we may seeme to speake without reason, consider that so often, as two partes come together to conferre or to dispute: If the one parte demaunde, why do you this: and the other parte also demaunde the same thing, saying, why do you this? it cannot be but in these questions reiterated there shall discention arise.

But omitting the Prelates of this Realme, whome we will not offende, let vs imagine with our selues, that there were here a certaine Bishop which should demaund of vs, saying, by what authoritie doe ye preache, and minister the Sacramentes? And we in like maner should demaund, by what authoritie he did the like: that is to saye, whether he were elected by the Seniors of his Churche, in the which he is Bishop: whether the people desired to haue him: and whether his life, maners, and doctrine were firste examined.

He would answere that he was in that order called: but the contrary is manifestly knowne, and we call the conscience of those to witnesse that heare vs, & knowe how y matter standeth. If he should saye vnto vs, ye are no ministers, because ye haue not the impositiō of hāds, we in like maner would answere, neyther are ye Bishops, because in your institution, the principall and most substantial matters commaunded by the worde of God are lacking. If the disputation proceede farther, we maye vse these wordes: ye haue but one onely thing, which is required in the right institution, namely, laying on of handes. If the lacke of this one thing, make (as you thinke) that we are not ministers, then must needes the lacke of the other two, (namely the election by Seniors, and the triall of life and doctrine) proue you to be no Bishops.

The Councell of *Chalcedone*, euen one of the firste vniuer-

ſall Counſels, appoynted that the ordering and appoynting of a Prieſte ſhoulde be vnde whiche was not done by the Miniſterie of ſome one Churche. A greate deale more might we ſay to the Byſhoppe diſputing with vs, ſeeing that two principall and ſubſtantiall thinges are wanting to him, contrarie to the commaundemente of the Apoſtle.

1. Timo. 3. Titus. 1.

There is alſo an other thing whiche we ſpeake againſt our will, and yet notwithſtanding we muſt ſpeake it, that all the whole aſſembly maye euidently ſee, that this queſtion concerning Vocation, is full of perill and enuie. If ye ſhoulde demaunde of that Byſhoppe of whome, he hadde receyued impoſition of handes, and for howe muche he hath bought the ſame, what woulde he ſaye? Surely he woulde make aunſwere that he hadde receyued impoſition of handes of Byſhoppes, and that he hadde not bought the ſame, but that he gaue for it ſo many thouſande Crownes: whiche is as muche as if he ſhoulde ſaye, I haue not bought the breade, but I haue bought the wheate. If this diſputation verily ſhoulde be iudged by the Counſels and Canons of the Church, it woulde make many Byſhoppes and Curates aſhamed. Into the whiche Diſputation we woulde not willingly enter, leaſte we ſhoulde offende any man. But take not this to be ſpoken, to the ende we might enter into that diſputation, or to the intent we myght render *quid pro quo*, or check for taunt: but to the end you might vnderſtand (O Quéene) that we did therfore very vnwillingly touche the matter, leaſte the peace and concorde a working might be hindered.

As touching the Article of the Lords Supper, we would of late ſpeake no further of the ſame, becauſe we hadde regarde to many men of this aſſembly, whiche neuer hearing of ſuche matter before, might eaſily haue beene there at offended, as at ſome newe thing. We hadde rather that they ſhoulde heare the wordes of the auncients

Fathers

Fathers of the Church than ours, for somuche as the Cardinall of *Loraine*, by open promise bounde himselfe, to persuade and satisfie vs in this principall point of doctrine, by the proper woords of the fathers, the which thing we greatly desired. To satisfie this our desire, and the expectation also of a great manye men, the article of the Lordes Supper was put forth, decided out of many and verie necessarie articles of the fayth, and it was sayd vnto vs, Either subscribe vnto this, or else we wil proceede no farther. If ye were ours Iudges, and had authoritie to sit vpon our liues, ye woulde not say, Subscribe vnto this, but, VVe condemne you. Your office leadeth you to another maner of speache, and willeth you to shewe vnto vs our errors if there be anye in vs, and to instructe them in the doctrine of truth, which are readie to giue an account of their faith by the woord of God.

We are here before you (O Quéene) & that for two speciall causes. The firste is, that we maye giue an account of our faith to God, to you, & to the whole worlde. The seconde is, that we may obey God, the king, & you, so much as in vs lyeth, to the pacifying of those troubles which are raised vp for Religions sake. If ye had to do with vs onely which are here, ye might the more easily haue your wils and purpose, but behold we represent a great number of men, which are not onely in this kingdome, but also in the chiefest partes of *Heluetia, Polonia, Germanie, England, Scotland,* and *Flanders,* and which long to sée to what ende this conference will come. But they shall vnderstande, that in steade of the determination of a frée and generall Conference, the tenth parte of an Article was exhibited: and that it was sayde, Eyther subscribe vnto thys, or else wee will proceede no farther. And admit we should subscribe herevnto, what were ye the better? They whiche haue sente vs hyther, wyll knowe, whether by constrainte against our wils, or elles by force of good and holesome Argumentes, we haue subscribed.

Therefore (M. Quæne) we most earnestly beseeche you, that so good and godly a worke be not broke off, and that ye will vouchsafe to graunt such men vnto vs, which will not disdaine peaceably and soberly to conferre and dispute with vs: otherwise you may consider with your selfe what great inconueniences will hereof arise.

Notwithstanding least we might seeme to want an answere: wee affirme that we doe receiue all those things, which Elpensius hath alleaged and brought out of the booke of Caluine. But the article exhibited by the Cardinall is onely a portion of the Augustane confession. In the which matter many things are to be cõsidered: First ỳ whole confession should be propounded vnto vs; for it is not meete to set before vs one verse and to omit the rest. Then we must see, whether the Cardinall doth this thing of him selfe, or in the name of all the Prelates. For herevpon we should giue thankes vnto God, that they them selues do confesse themselues to be ouercome in the Article of Transubstantiatiõ, the which truely is condemned by the consent of all the reformed Churches of Germanie and of others.

And if it be meete for vs to subscribe, then is it meete for them to subscribe also, that our Churches may vnderstand what wee haue done.

But & if they wil thus come to the whole confessiõ of the Germanes, wee trust we shall come into a very good waye to haue concord and vnitie. In the meane time (M. Quæne) we do affirme that Iesus Christ is present in the vse of the Supper, in the which he offereth, giueth, and truely exhibiteth vnto vs, his body and bloud, by the operation of the holy Ghoste: but we eate, and drinke the same body that died for vs, & the same bloud that was shed for vs, spiritually, & by faith: that we may be bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh: that by him we may be quickned, and may perceiue whatsoeuer pertaineth to our saluation. And if this be not sufficient, (as it is a daungerous and hard matter to speake

of

of so great a mistery in so fewe wordes) if it seme good vnto the Cardinall that we search and confer together the Scripture and the writinges of the auncient Fathers, (as hee hath also promised) and if it may please you (O Quéne) to make a conuenient forme of collation, and to cal Notaries whiche may receiue our disputations, we trust you vnderstād that we came hither not to bring disorder and trouble, but peace and quietnes. For this one thing we wishe, that both to this doctrine, and also to the Sacramente the verye natural and proper integritie and perfection it selfe may be restored. In the which matter we dedicate and wholly giue our selues to God, to your Maiesties, to ỳ whole Christian commō wealth, and specially to the peace and tranquillitie of this Realme.

Thus far proceeded the oration of *Beza*. But the Prelates toke it very haynously, that *Beza* had thus spoken of their vocation. Therefore the Cardinall swelling with anger saide, that the Quénes Maiestie was dishonored with these wordes, into whose hands the righte and libertie of election was giuen, and by whome they themselues were elected. Adding that the ministers spake of that, wherof they were ignorant, not knowing that the Prelates, the people being called at the sounde of a bell, are elected.

The braule of the Cardinall with Beza.

Beza answered ỳ he was altogether giltlesse of this fault, saying, that kings had taken vnto thē selues that libertie & authoritie, bicause Churchemen had so filthily abused the same. As touching Election, no man is ignorant that they make as it were a play or enterlude of it: I speake not this of purpose (saith he) but am constrained therevnto, to the defence of our Ministerie, and to the intent also I might declare what maner of calling it is: the which notwithstanding without cause is contemned.

To this the Cardinall answered, That *Beza* first began to offer iniurie and not he, without the hauing of anye regarde of the reuerence due to the kings: willing him and

his fellowes to loke vnto that which appertained to themselues, for that they were not bothe of them in one condition.

This talke being ended, he presently demanded of them, why they refused to subscribe to the Augustane Confession. The ministers answered ỳ they knew not whether they were required to subscribe by a generall consent, or whether he did it in his owne name. My brethren that are here (saith the Cardinall) can witnesse with me that I do it with cõmon cõsent. Notwithstanding, ther was not one among them which declared whether he consented or no, notwithstanding that the Cardinall loked vpon them, to the ende they might confirme that which he had spoken. Then saith *Beza*, for so much as ye require not this thing, it is not méet that we should doe it.

This comunication being done, the Cardinall of *Loraine* called in question the article of the Lords Supper, & euery prelate obiected against the Ministers all the doctors & Canons they had. Then sayde Espensius, we cannot receyue Christ, except we receiue him with the breade. And therefore it is that Caluine saithe, VVe receyue the substance of the body of Christe. The Ministers to this answered, that they doe willingly agrée with Caluine. Saying that by this word (Substance) was not ment a corporall and grosse eating, but that the spiritnall and true eating was discerned from that which was by imagination and phansie.

To the which effect Peter Martyr spake very much in the *Italian* toung, bycause he coulde not speake French. And as he procéded all men giuing good heede to that whiche he spake, and hauing him in greate admiration, the Cardinall of *Lorayne* interrupted him, adding this reason, that he wold not dispute with men that spake in a straunge toung: not that he him selfe vnderstode not the *Italian* toung, or that manye coulde not vnderstand Peter Martyr.

Peter Martyr interrupted by the Cardinall.

Then Espensius stode vp and gaue him this commen-

dation

dation before them al, That no Diuine in their time, had so plainely and distinctly spoken of the Sacrament as he had done.

Then starte vp a certayne Spanishe Monke a *Iesuite*, whiche hauing obtayned leaue to speake, did nothing but poure out contumelious and reprochfull sentences against the Ministers, calling them, inconstante, craftie, deceitefull, Wolues, and Apes, which he sayde, oughte to be shunned and auoyded. And beginning to speake of the Lordes Supper, he would shewe and manifest the Corporall presence of the Lorde by this similitude. Euen as (saythe he) the King, hauing gotten the victorye ouer his enimyes, to celebrate the remembrance thereof, ordaineth certeine playes, of the which he maketh him selfe chiefe ouerseer, euen so Christ intending to make the remembrance of his death euerlasting by the institution of the Supper, is also himselfe present at the same. The vnapte comparison of a Spanishe Monke.

At the last, erhorting the Quéenes maiestie to be an enimie to the ministers, by his folishe madnesse, and madde folly, he moued the most parte of them that were present both to laughter and also to indignation, euen together.

Then *Beza* answered the Monke, saying that he dealte with them, as though they were alreadie condemned of heresie, which was not done, but, (saith he) I wil reserue your contumelious iniuries, and railing sentences for you and your companiõs. And as for ỳ Quæne, she wil do al things with good will, and by due and holesome counsel, for the benefite of the whole Realme, and standeth not in nede of a Monkes aduise. Concerning the Lords Supper, you haue so vnreuerently spoken of the same, that you make a playe of it, in the which Christ shoulde be the speciall person, the which is to childishe, ridiculous, and prophane.

And so *Beza* tournyng hym selfe to Espensius sayde, We dyge the consente of the Euangelistes, in the fourme of wordes, in that they haue all sayde, Thys is my bodye: but remember that the Euangelystes haue also saide:

sayde: This is my bloud of the newe Testamente And also, This Cup is the newe Testamente in my bloud, the whiche cannot be vnderstode without a figure, as I haue alreadie shewed that it is a sacramentall kinde of speache, as Saint Austine expoundeth it in his Epistle to Bonifacius. If Sacraments (sayth he) should haue no agreement with those things whereof they are Sacramentes, then were they no Sacramentes: for this similitude, they oftentimes receine the name of those things, which onely they represent. As therefore the Sacrament of the body of Christ, in some respect, is the bodie of Christ, and the Sacrament of the bloud of Christ, is the bloude of Christe: euen so the Sacramente of sayth, is sayth: neither can there be a Sacramente withoute the figure.

Aust. ad Bonifacium.

Then saide Espensius, if the case be so, that oure Sacramentes are not withoute the figure, they differ not muche from the Sacramentes of the olde Testament, which were figuratiue. For they were figures and shadowes of the truth, which is now made manifest and fulfilled in Christ, Otherwise we must say that they are figures, of figures.

How the Sacramēts vnder the law were Figures.

The Ministers denyed this consequence, affirming that the Legall Ceremonies which were appointed by God, had respect to the truth, whereof also, the ancient Fathers were partakers before the comming of Christ, and we after his comming, in which time, we are not vnder ceremonies, but yet notwithstanding we neede visible signes and sacramentes, so long as we shall be in this worlde: and yet for al that it doth not followe that we haue the lesse vnderstanding of the truth, although we haue externall Sacramentes.

After this a certaine *Sorbonist* demanded of the ministers, what the Pronowne (This) in these wordes, This is my bodie, signified.

The Ministers answered, That it shewed the breade, and signified the body of Christ: that it might be vnderstande, that the breade was a signe of the bodye, which they confirmed

med by the testimonies of the fathers.

On the contrarie parte the Popishe Doctors replyed, that the Grammer rules would not suffer this worde (This) to be referred to the bread.

But the ministers sayd, that this was repugnant to the nature of Sacramentes, in the which it ought not to be denied, but that the signe is ioyned with the thing signified. Thus these *Rabbines*, and *Sorbonistes*, making exclamations in all things and a confused noyse, spent the day.

And one among the rest, shaking his finger at *Beza*, sayd, if we had thē in oure schole. At the laste the assembly was dismissed, and the conference, after this, was no more kept in the same order and forme, the Cardinall fearing, (as it was reported) least by their disputation in the vulgar and knowne tong, the matter might the more plainely appeare to the Princes and nobles that were there. Beza is here threatned.

Therefore from that day forward the maner of the conference was altered: fiue out of eyther part, that is to saye, fiue of the Prelates and fiue of the Ministers being chosen and appointed for this conference: by whome all matters might be reasoned and disputed of peaceably and quietly. The fiue that were chosen from among the Prelates, were these: Ianus Monlucius, Bishop of *Valentia*, Vallius Bishop of *Sen*, Bottillerius an abbot, Espensius a *Sorbonist*.

The fiue that were appointed out of the reformed Churches, were these: Peter Martyr, Theodore Beza, Nicolaus Gallasius, Augustine Marlorate, and Espensius. Then they agréd concerning the order of the disputation, the place, the time, and concerning the Notaries whiche shoulde note & receiue the disputation. And although it semed méete and conuenient to all men, that the confession of the reformed Churches, shoulde by order be handled firste, yet notwithstanding they began the disputation concerning the supper, bycause they had before propounded the same, in that arti-

cle which concerneth the Lordes presence in the Supper: and the matter being diuersely canuassed and handled betweene them, at the length both partes agreed vpon thys article following.

The article agreed vpō betweene the Papistes and the protestantes concerning the presence.

Forsomuche, as Faith maketh things that are promised to be present, and doth truely receiue the body and bloud of our Lorde Iesu Christe, by the power of the holy Ghoste: wee confesse the presence of his body and bloud in the Supper, in the which he offereth, gyueth, and truely exhibiteth vnto vs, the Substaunce of his bodie and bloud by the operation of the holy Ghoste: in whome wee receiue and eate spiritually and by Faith, the same body whiche was offered for vs, that wee maye bee bone of his bones, and flesshe of hys flesshe, and maye bee quickened by him, and maye also perceyue, and vnderstande what so euer doth appartayne to our saluation.

The fiue disputers for the Prelates, shewed this article vnto their fellowes, which they wholly misliked. Therfore the daye following, another Article was exhibited vnto the Ministers in their name, in ỳ which there was somewhat altered: for that which the first article attributed vnto faith, the seconde attributed to the worde. This article for the ambiguitie therof, the ministers would not receiue, least it should be the cause of greater errors. But least the contention myght seme to stand in wordes, they al agreed wt one cōsent on both sides to put down ỳ article in this form.

VVe confesse, that Iesus Christ in the Supper, offereth, gyueth, and truely exhibiteth vnto vs, the substance of bis body and bloud, by the operation of the holy Ghost, & that we do receiue and eate, spiritually & by faith, the same body which dyed for vs, that we might be bone of his bone, and flesshe of his flesshe, to the ende also we might be quickened by him, and may vnderstand al things that appertaine to our saluatiō: And bicause Faith beyng grounded vpon the worde of God maketh things that are promised, and of vs vnderstode, to be pre-

preſent by this faith, we truly and effectually receiue, the true and naturall body of Chriſt Ieſus, by the power of the holy Ghoſt. In this reſpecte we confeſſe the preſence of his body and bloud in the Supper.

These things thus determined, the chosen men on both sides, went to shewe the matter vnto their fellowes, that both partes might frely shewe their opinion and iudgement. At the first sight therefore many of the Prelates receiued this article. But when the matter was communicated and declared to the Sorbonistes, they did afterwardes with one consent reiect the same. And layde vnto the charge of their chosen men that disputed for them, and which continued in the same opinion, in the whiche, they concluded with the Ministers of the reformed Churches, that they had made a compacte and agreemente with the Ministers, and therefore they were not suffered to conferre or dispute any more after that. Therfore the ministers hauing occasion offered, sente this explication of that article vnto the chosen men that disputed for the Prelates.

VVe affirme that no diſtance of places can let the communicating which wee haue with the body and bloud of Chriſt, bycauſe the Supper of the Lorde is a heauenly thing. And althoughe we receiue in earthe, with oure mouthe the breade and wine, beyng true ſignes of his body and bloud, yet notwithſtanding by faithe, and by the operation of the holye Ghoſt, our myndes (of which this is oure ſpeciall meate) beinglyfted vp to heauen, doe receine there his bodye and bloude. And in this reſpecte wee ſaye, that the bodye doth truely ioyne it ſelfe to the breade, and the bloude, to the wyne: and yet notwithſtanding no otherwyſe than after a Sacramentall manner: that is to ſaye, neyther locally, nor naturally: but bycauſe they effectually ſignifie and declare, that God doth giue them faithfully and without all doubt to the communicants, who do truly and certainely receiue them by faith.

This therefore is the plaine opinion and iudgement of the reformed Churches, concerning the presence of the bodie and bloud of Christ Iesus in the sacrament of the Supper.

But there were nowe come certaine ministers oute of *Germanie*, by the meanes of Balduinus (as we sayde before.) But they, bewraying the councell and purpose of the Cardinall of *Loraine*, by whose practise these things were spedely brought to passe, returned home again with losse of their labour, and their expectation being deceiued. The purpose and practise of the Cardinall was to bring these ministers and the other into one disputation and contention, and so contending and striuing together, he might cause the conference to cease, and make them to be a laughing stocke to all men. The Prelates doubting of the sayth and trust of their men, which they had chosen to dispute for them (as we said before) woulde haue no conference after this with the ministers, whereupon the conference brake vp the.xvi. day of Nouember. And this was the ende of the Conference of Poissiac, manye being gathered together for the same, the space of three monethes: after the whiche there ensued not onely no profyte, but also great trouble and motions of warres.

The deceite of the Cardinall

The end of the conference of Poissiacene.

Thus the conference being ended without fruite, there was no waye founde for peace and concorde, but rather the mindes of both parts beyng exasperated, there ensued great quarels and dissentions. So that great discorde rose dayly betweene the Papists and the Protestants more and more some complayning and finding fault with the Prelates for their disordered departing from the conference, (the which in deede sufficiently declared the weakenesse of their cause) and other some misliking of the authoritie of the Generall Councell, shortly after to come, and of the Churche of *Rome*. Neither were these dissentions onely among the common people, but also among the Peeres & Nobles of the realme,

mens

mens mindes being distracted and drawne into manifest factions, whiche foreshewed not onely bare contentions of woordes but also greate and mortall warres at hande. For the compactes, and manifest practises of the Guises, of the Constable, and of the Marshall of *Santandra*, were well ynough sene. Yet notwithstanding their purpose and indeuour, was very muche let and hindered at that time by the authoritie of the king of *Nauarre*, whome they thought good to assay by all meanes possible, to the entent they myghte drawe him from taking part with the Protestantes. In the which matter the Cardinal of *Ferrer* (of whom we spake before) being the Popes Legate in *Fraunce*, toke verye muche paines, promising vnto the king of *Nauarre*, in the Popes name the full possession of the kingdome of *Nauarre*, affyrming that the Pope should easily obtaine this thing of king Phillip, for that he already promised to doe the same for the Catholique Churches sake. Moreouer the Cardinall of *Towers*, the Bishop of *Ansseren*, and *Escarsius*, also certaine of his housholde, confirmed him in this matter: and vsed dayly persuasions, being wicked men and set on for money by the Cardinall of *Loraine*.

King Philip by the sufferance of the Pope, had certain yeares inioyed the kingdome of Nauar which lyeth at that parte of Spaine, that bordereth on the mountains Pyrenæi.

Among whom also was that Frances Balduine of whome mention was made before, as diligent and busie as the best to bring the matter about, whereby he thought he shoulde reape no small gaine.

This man forging a new Gospell, caused the king of *Nauarre* to hate both the doctrine, and also the men of the reformed Churches. So that now he began to hang betwene diuers opinions, to forsake the loue of Religion openlye, to shew himselfe an enimie to the reformed Churches, to bee more conuersant and familiar with the Guises, to giue himselfe to lightnesse & filthy pleasure, & also to go to the Masse and to the Popishe Churches. When the Duke of Guise had deliberated and consulted of the matter with the Constable, and the Marshall of *Santandre*, and willing them to

gathered vnto them forthwith so great power as they could be departed from them leauing them in *Fraunce*, and came to *Imuilla* in the moneth of Nouember: and after he had taryed there certayne dayes, he wente to the Cittie *Tabernas*, whiche bordereth vpon Germanie, to prouide for his businesse, and to consult with many of the Princes of Germanie about this matter.

Notwithstanding the number of the faythfull dayly more and more encreased, and was wonderfully conforted: a great part of the Nobles comming to the reformed Churches. Therefore there were assemblies and congregations in great number: almost in all the noble Cities of the Realme, in the whiche the worde of God was openly preached, and the Sacramentes ministred, notwithstanding the Edict of July of whiche we spake before. Whereupon notwithstanding there arose oftentymes greate discentions, and of those seditions ensued great perils. For they whiche were grieued and offended at these assemblies of the faythfull, made exclamation that Edictes were broken, and did so prepare themselues to trouble the faythfull, that there seemed to be present occasions of great mischiefe, whiche brake forthe in many places, but specially at *Paris*, For the faithful being gathered togither the. 26. day of December, to heare ẏ worde of God in *Paris*, in the suburbes of *Sammarcellus*, a place specially appointed vnto them by the King, for the same purpose: the Priestes of the Temple of *Sammedardus* hard by, in the time of the Sermon, caused such a noyse to be made with ringing of bels, that the voyce of the Preacher coulde by no meanes be vnderstode. Whervpon two of the Congregation, men vnarmed, and without weapon, came to those Popishe Priestes, and beseeched them that they woulde not make suche a dynne with ringing their Belles, that so greate a companie of menne shoulde be lette from hearing the worde of God.

The seditiō of Sanmedard.

The

The Prieſtes hauing with them diuers other men, began to abuſe them and shamefully to miſtreat them, ſaying that they would not leaue of their ringing: and straytwaye they ranne vpon them, and made haſte to ſhut the Churche doores: but one of them eſcaped by flight, the other they toke, whome they wounded ſo ſore that he preſently dyed. Then they ranne vp into the Churche ſteeple, and toppe of the church, they rang the Belles, and tumultuouſly cryed *Toc-ſanctum*, whiche woorde the people vſe, when they crye *Alarum*.

At the which crye the people ranne with all ſpéede poſſible from euery part of the Suburbes: So that, what with the crye of the people, and what with the hurling of ſtones into the place where the ſermō was then made, there was a great & terrible noyſe. The which noyſe being heard, but ſpecially *Toc-ſanctum*, or *Alarum* aboue the reſte, they whiche were chiefe of the Congregation, leaſt the whole aſſembly ſhoulde be quite diſcomfited, thought it néedfull to prouide helpe out of hand. Therefore when they had willed euery one to be quiet and not to ſtirre, they choſe out of the whole Congregation (whiche was in number about 13. thouſande men) a certaine ſmall number of experte ſouldiers: willing the Miniſter to proceéde: and ſent the Lieutenant his ſeruant (for he was then there, by the Kings authoritie) to will and commaunde the Prieſtes in the Kings name to ceaſe the tumulte whiche they hadde begonne: Notwithſtanding the Arrowes and ſtoanes came ſo faſte aboute his eares, that he was conſtrayned ſtrayte waye to returne backe agayne. The faithfull fearing the Sedition like to enſue, whereby they being naked and vnarmed were like to be oppreſſed, thoughte it good before the matter wente any further, to ſette vpon the Popiſhe Prieſtes, and to ſtaye their rage. Therefore euen at once, they ranne vpon them with all their myght, euen through the thicke hayle of ſtoanes and arrowes, and brake open the Church

doores,

doores, behinde the whiche they founde the deade carkas of their slaine brother, and the Priests with their coherentes armed: who, at the first outragiously like mad men behaued them selues, but afterwardes, being easily repressed & tamed by the faithfull, part of them, being constrained, yelded them selues into their handes, and part fled into a high tower, shutting the doores falle to them, from whence, they cast downe stones, tymber, arrowes, & many other things, yea whatsoeuer in their madnesse, came nexte to hande: in so much that breaking the Images of their Saints (as they call them) in peces, which they had caryed out of the Temple, least they should be violated and defiled, most furiously they threwe them downe, still crying *Toc-sanctum, Allarum.* But the faithfull seyng their outrage, threatned them to fire them out of their holde or Tower, whereupon the Popishe Priests & their coherentes, ceassed at the last frō their Popishe madnesse, fortie of them being sore wounded, and fiftene of the authors of the Sedition being taken, and deliuered into the handes of the Magistrate. And thus was that sedition pacified.

But the congregation of the faithfull, was garded & safe conducted by the same Lieuetenaunt and Centurion of the Citie, least the people shoulde begin againe some newe sedition. It was reported that this sedition was appointed and deuised certaine dayes before, by the knowledge & consent of many of the gouernours and Senators of the Citie, who promised to the Curate of *Sammedarde* that he should be blameles and escape vnpunished whatsoeuer happened. It was also founde, that they had caryed before into other houses, (fearing what woulde come to passe) their Albes, Crewets, Censers, their Chalice, their Copes and precious vestments, and the reste of their implementes which they sayde Masse withall. The daye following the outragious multitude, hauing certaine Popishe Priests their guides, came into the houses of the faithfull, broke chaires, stooles, settles,

settles, and spoyled all things euen to the bare walles, and set fire vnder: thus they set fire on the houses on euery side vntill they were chased away by certaine horsemen and the magistrate of the citie.

Then were those that were before taken prisoners examined. Howbeit the Senate ioyning with them such men, whō they thought meete for their purpose, brought to passe, that they were deliuered, and many of the faithfull cast into prison, as giltie of that matter wherof the other were accused: and writing letters to the Quæne, they layd all the cause of that sedition vpon the faithfull.

The which notwithstanding was manifestly found false by the open voyce of the people deriding the faithfull, and boasting of the fauour of the Senate. But by suffering so great a fault to escape vnpunished, the people of *Paris*, which before were prompt and ready ynough of themselues to sedition, began nowe to be more incouraged to worke mischiefe against the faithfull.

Therefore newe rumours were spreade abrode of the wickednesse of the people in that copious citie, and manye of the Bishoppes and nobles of the Realme made exclamation that the Kings Maiestie was greatly offended, bycause the authoritie of the Edict of July was contemned, the Huguenots hauing their Sermons euery where, for so were the faithfull called.

And euerye daye complayntes were brought bothe partes, from euery coast of the Realme. But the reformed Churches dayly increased, and had their Sermons euerye where, whether the king gaue leaue or no: And thus the kings will and pleasure not knowne, great troubles were like very shortly to insue.

The matter standing thus, the Quæne fearing what would come to passe, perceiued that it was needefull to prouide a spedie remedie.

But the king of *Nauar* being also doubtfull what to doe,

The cauſe of the Edict of Ianuary.

and beyng made afearde with dayly Rumors and reportes ſawe that it was hie time to prouide, ſaying that thoſe matters coulde not be ended withoute the benefite of a more large Edicte.

Therefore by the authoritie and commaundement of the king, the Quéene, and of the king of *Nauarre*, and by the conſente of the Princes and the kings priuie Counſell, the kings purſeuauntes were ſent to ſummon a Parliamente to be holden concerning this matter the.xvij. of January at *Sangermane*. Men alſo of ſingular diſcretion and knowledge were ſent for out of all partes of the Realme.

The whole aſſembly being called together (in the which alſo were the Princes, and the kings kinſmen) the king declared howe néedefull and neceſſarie a thing it was to prouide meanes and remedyes to pacifie ſo greate troubles, when as euerye daye greuous rumours of Seditions did aryſe. Wherefore he prayed them to ſhewe with pure and vpright myndes ſuch meanes and wayes to pacifie them as might be to their owne profite and for the benefite of the Realme: promiſing that he woulde followe their Judgementes ſo farre as ſhoulde be needefull.

Therefore when the Chauncelour, according to cuſtome had propounded the cauſe of their aſſembly, and had ſhewed the neceſſitye of thynges, euery man ſpake his Judgement: And when they hadde all concluded, a newe Edicte was ſet forthe by the Kings commaundemente, whiche was called the Edicte of Ianuarie: the ſumme was this following.

For

FOr ſo much as the King had founde in the beginning of his raigne, diuers and ſundrie troubles, hee vvente aboute by due aduiſe and Counſell of the Queene his mother, of the Princes, his neere kinſmen, and of his Lordes and Nobles to prouide remedies for them, ſetting forth to this ende and purpoſe diuers Edictes, and among the reſt, one, the laſt of Iuly: In the vvhich all doctrines vvere plainely forbidden, ſauing the auncient and accuſtomed rytes and ceremonies of the Churche of Rome: the force notvvithſtanding and effecte of the vvhich Edicte, vvas not onely let and ſtayed, but thereof alſo folovved diuers perturbations and troubles, through the obſtinacie and headineſſe of the people, complayning and finding fault vvith the ſeueritie and rigor of the ſame Edict. Therefore he hauing regarde to the peace and tranquillitie of his Subiectes, by the Counſell, aduiſe, and conſent of the Queene, the King of Nauarre, and by the conſente of the Princes and Nobles of this Realme, and by the aduiſe of other vviſe and graue mē of the Parliament, hath and doth, appoint, charge and commaunde: That the men of the reformed Religion, ſo called, doe forthvvith reſtore vnto all Eccleſiaſticall perſons, their Churches, houſes, or fieldes, and their reuenevves or Tenthes, vvhich they haue occupied, and that they doe ſuffer them, peaceably and quietly to inioy them: that neither directly nor indirectly, openly nor priuily, they hinder, vexe, or moleſte them. Yet notvvithſtanding, it ſhall not be lavvfull for thoſe perſons of the reformed Religion, eyther vvithin, or vvithout the Cities, to builde them

The Edict of Ianuary.

Temples or other conuenient places for the gathering of assemblies together, and for preaching of Sermons. Also he vvilleth and commaundeth, that no Crosses, Crucifixes, and Images be ouerthrovven, or anye other offence in these things hereafter commited: vpon payne of death vvithout any hope of pardon.

Furthermore, it shall not bee lavvfull for them to haue anye Sermons or the administration of Sacramentes vvithin the Cities, by any manner of meanes, openly, or secretely, in the day time, or in the nighte. Notvvithstãding for the peace and tranquillities sake of his subiectes (vvhich he specially seeketh) he hath vvilled and commaunded, and by these presents doth vvill and commaunde that, vntill the determination of a generall Councell, no maner of punishment, vnder the pretence of the former Edictes, be executed vpon those vvhich shall preach or minister according to the reformed Religion, or vvhich shall come to, or frequent those Sermons or administrations of the said reformed Religion, so that they be vvithout the cities: Earnestly charging and forbidding all Magistrates & others his Maiesties officers, to doe any hurt or harme to the men of that Religion for these causes, as for going to Sermons, or suche other like exercises: yea hee vvilleth and commaundeth the sayd Magistrates, and all others that beare any manner of publique office, to protecte and defende them, and to saue them from all iniurie and harme: if they neede armour in their defence to put on armour: but in anye vvise notvvithstanding to take and punishe according to the Edicts most seuerely such as are seditious, vvhat Religiõ so euer

Sermõs without the cities permitted.

Protection of the protestãtes.

euer, they say they followe Also he vvilleth & commaundeth all men of both sortes of Religion, of vvhat state or condition soeuer they be of, that they do not assemble themselues together in armour: And that no man be stirred or prouoked for his Religion, or bee miscalled vvith contumelious, or factious names: but that all men liue peaceably and quietly together. Moreouer he vvilleth and commaundeth the Ministers of the reformed Religion, so called, that they receiue no man into their fellovvship or congregation, before their lyfe and manners bee vvell examined: to the intente that if anye man be founde giltie of anye crime, he may be deliuered into the hands of the Magistrate. Inhibition of armour.

But if any of his officers vvill goe to their assemblyes to heare and consider of the doctrine vvhich is there preached: his Maiestie vvill that they be honourably receiued, vvith due consideration had of the dignities and offices they beare.

Also he vvilleth and straightly chargeth, that they make no nevve ciuill Magistrates amongthem: and that they haue no Synodes, Courtes, or Consistories, excepte someone of the officers be present therat. But if any thing should be needefull to be appointed by them concerning the vse of their Religion, then he vvilleth them to bring their matter before his officers, that by his authoritie all things maye be confyrmed. Also he vvilleth that there be no choise of men, or entering into league of either part, for the putting avvay of mutuall iniuries. That there be no contributions of money, but if contribution be made for almes sake, Synodes and Consistories. Contribution of money.

let

let the cauſe firſte be ſhevved to the Magiſtrate, and then let it be done. Furthermore he vvilleth and commaundeth that thoſe men of the reformed Religion, doe obſerue the politique lavves, and ſpecially thoſe things vvhich concerne feſtiuall dayes, that no trouble for this cauſe doe ariſe: in like manner that they obſerue in the bondes of Matrimonie thoſe things vvhich concerne conſanguinitie: Alſo that the Miniſters of that Religion come vnto the Magiſtrates, to ſvveare before them to obſerue and keepe this Edict, and alſo to preache and teache the people onelye the vvorde of God vvith all pureneſſe and ſinceritie, doing nothing againſt the Nicene Councell, and againſt the bookes of the olde and nevve Teſtament. Moreouer he vvilleth, that they vſe no reproches, nor ſeeke to conſtraine any man by force to heare or to belene their doctrine: this he giueth in charge to the Miniſters. Alſo he vvilleth and commaundeth that no man of vvhat Religion or condition ſoeuer he bee of, doe bolſter, hide, or conceale anye that is a ſeditious perſon, vpon payne of forfayting (for ſuche as be ryche) to the poore a thouſande Crovvnes: and vpon the paine, (for ſuche as be poore and not able to paye) of vvhipping, and then baniſhment. Finally he vvilleth, chargeth and ſtraightly commaundeth, that no man make, ſell, or cauſe to be ſolde, anye Bookes or vvritings that tend to the defaming or ſclander of any perſon, vpon paine of Cudgeling for the firſte time, and for the ſeconde time death: And that Magiſtrates doe their ductie vvithin their precincte, othervviſe to be remoued from their offices. Alſo if any ſeditions happen,

Poll trike lavvs to be obſerued

The oth of the Miniſters.

Bookes of infamie.

pen, that then they enquire out the authours of the same, and punishe them, being found, most seuerely, & the matter being manifestly proued to pronounce against them the sentence of death, vpon paine of the Kings displeasure. The dutie of Magistrates.

This Edict, he commaunded to be proclaimed, and obediently obserued and kept throughout his whole Realme, without exception or exempting of anye person whatsoeuer. Yet notwithstanding, the Senate of *Paris*, after the first, seconde, and third commaundement of the king, scarcely published the same: where as in all other Courtes and parts of the Realme it had bẽn very solemnly proclaimed, according to the kings commaundement in that behalfe. But the obstinate contempt of the Senators, which were set on by manye of the nobles was not altogether hidden, but euidently ynoughe appeared to all men that would see the same.

(·.·)

FINIS.

The translator to the Reader.

THus gentle Reader endeth the firste part of these Cõmentaries, faithfully collected and gathered by that singular learned man Petrus Ramus of Fraunce, who himselfe, (because he was a zealous professor of the Gospell, and an enimie to Antichrist) was slaine in this last horrible butcherly murther, in the yeare of our Lorde God. 1572. The speciall cause that moued the sayde Petrus Ramus to spende his trauaile in penning these Commentaries in the Latine toung was (as you maye perceyue by hys preface in the beginning of this Booke) that all Christian Realmes might be certifyed of the true originall and cause of all the warres, troubles and sheding of Innocente bloude, that haue beene from the yeare of our Lorde God. 1557. vntill this present daye. To the ende therefore, that his desire might be the better satisfyed, when I had considered the worthinesse of his trauaile, and what great fruite woulde spring of the same to al that will vouchsafe to spende some time in reading of this worke: for that all men vnderstande not the Latine toung: I thought good to translate the same into Englishe, that none of our Countreymen might be slayed from the taste of such fruite as will growe thereof. And as I haue spente some time in translating this firste parte, so I meane

meane (God willing) to goe forwarde with the other two partes: the seconde beeing nowe in hande, and shall bee printed (if God permitte) against the nexte Terme. In the meane tyme I beseech thee (right Christian Reader) contente thy selfe with this, accept my labor, and requite my good will with diligent reading of the same. Before the which I shall desire thee to correct with thy pen, suche faults as I haue here caused to be noted. In so doing, no one sentence (I trust) shal seeme obscure vnto thee.

Amen.

Line.2.Page.9.For (it) reade,he.
Li.19.pa.12.fo2(might defende)reade,might ſeeme to defend.
Line.18.pag.17.reade acknowledging of the truth.
Line.16.pag.40.fo2(otherwiſe)reade,otherwiſe.
Line.22.pag.43 reade,as though it had bene.
Line.5.pag.73.read,we will not deny.
Line.8.pag.73.reade,name of the Church.
Line.4.pag.76.fo2 (is ſodaine)reade,is ſo highe.
Line.31.pag.112.fo2 (there)reade : Then.
Line.3.pag.124.reade,muſt not therefore.
Line.25.pag.125.in theſe wordes (and if that)leaue out, if.
Line.23.pag.164.bring in theſe wordes : might be ſolde from them.
Line.32.pag.194.fo2(Prophetes)reade,properties.
Line.5.pag.167.fo2(although)reade,as though.
Line.1.pag.239.fo2(only thee)reade,only three.
Line.18.pag.235.fo2(they ſhall)reade,ſhall they.
Line.20.pag.235.fo2(doth)reade,doth not.

NOte here (good Reader) that theſe faultes eſcaped in Printing,are not ſo eſcaped in al the Bokes of this impreſſion,but in ſome.Leaſt therefore they to whome thoſe ſhould happen, might be troubled in the reading with obſcure ſenſe,I thought good to make a generall note of all.

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FINIS.